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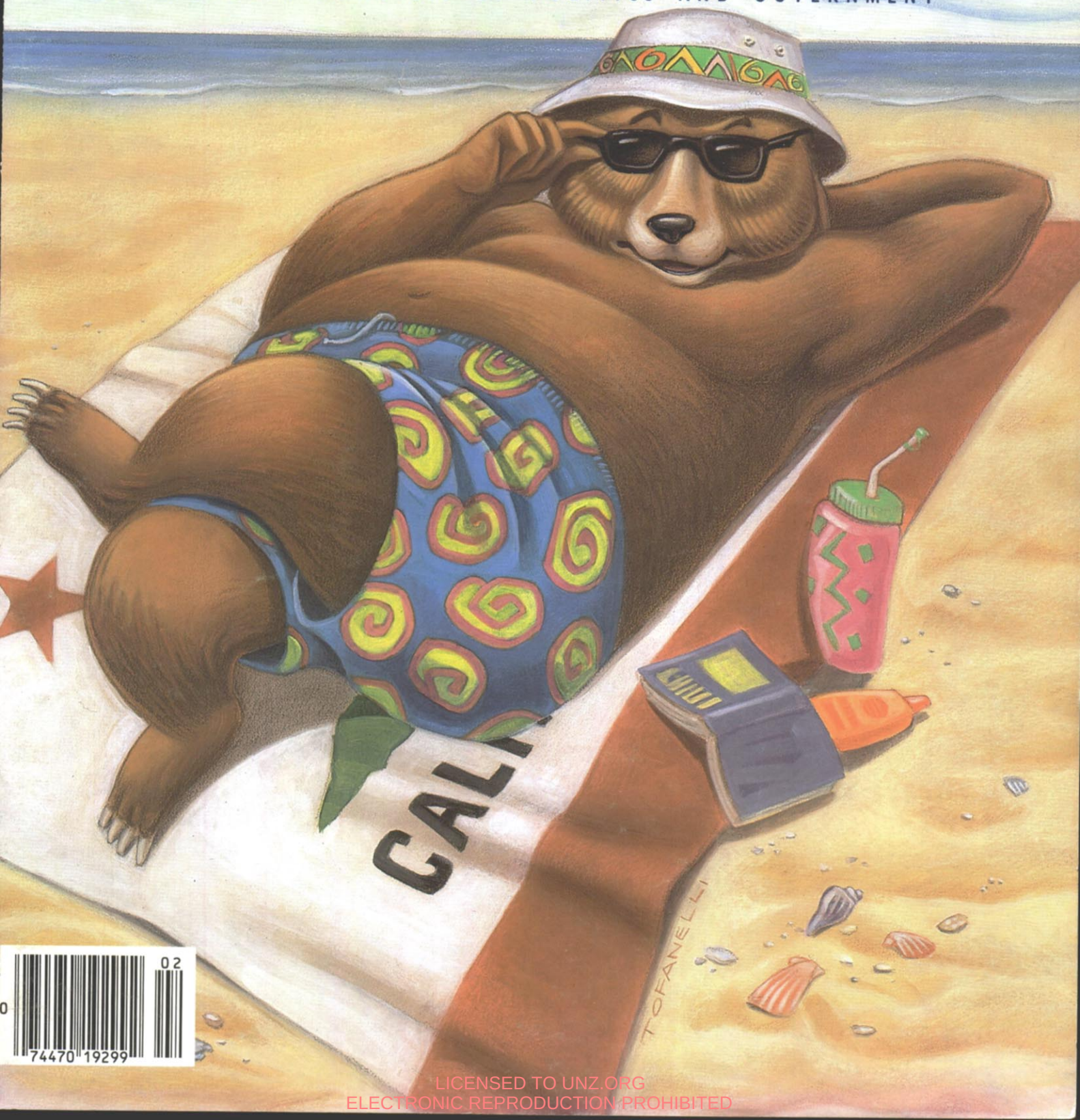

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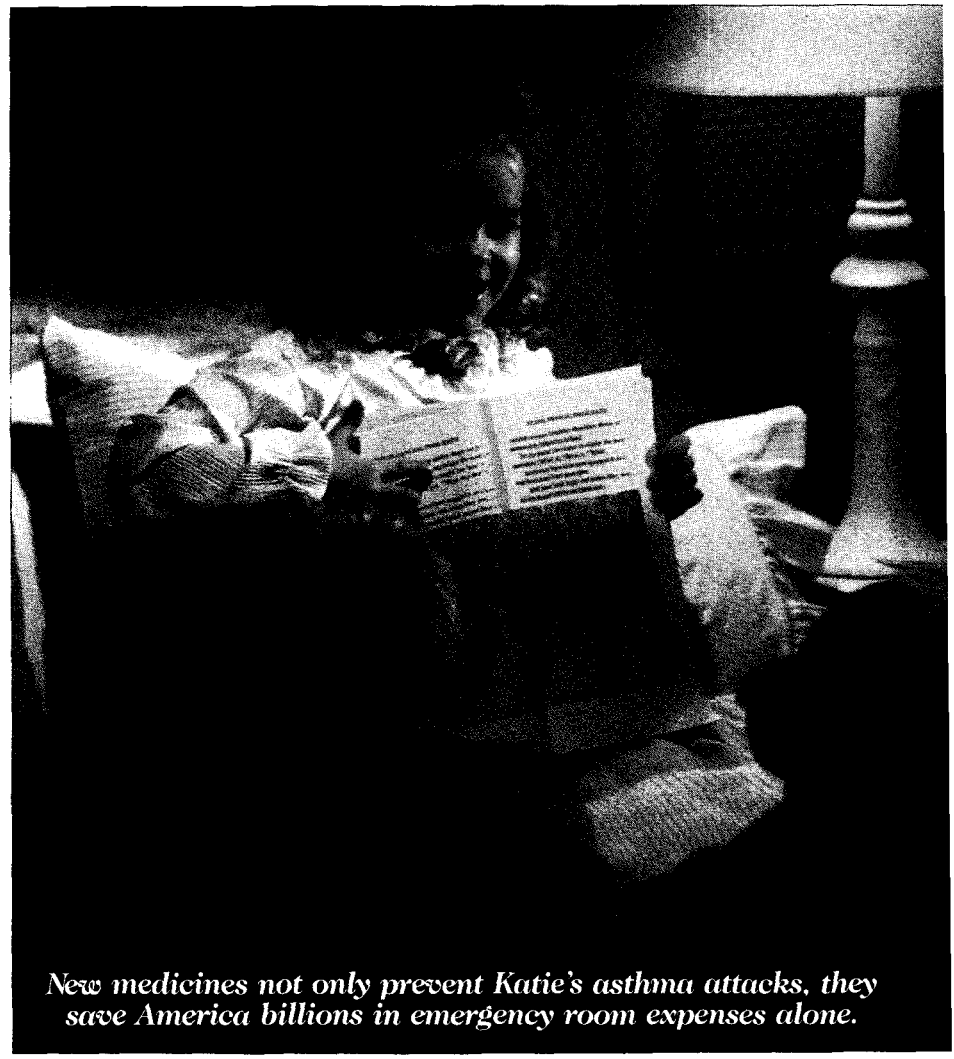
Ask Katie's parents what they think of the asthma drug that's keeping her out of the hospital.

When asthma medicine is able to save Katie and her parents from anxious races to the hospital, it's obviously a good thing. What is not so apparent is how dramatically the same drugs reduce health-care costs.

A study in the use of just one anti-asthma drug showed it reduced trips to emergency rooms by 96%, and also cut hospital admissions by 62%.

As a result, while the annual cost of Katie's drug can be sizable, the asthma medicine is still projected to save America up to $3 billion a year.



New medicines not only prevent Katie's asthma attacks, they save America billions in emergency room expenses alone.

America's healthcare crisis calls for this kind of cost-saving power. And new prescription drugs are our best hope for providing it.

For further information on how new medicines improve lives and save money, write or call The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1100 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Box CA, Washington, D.C. 20005. 1-800-221-2157.

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California JOURNAL

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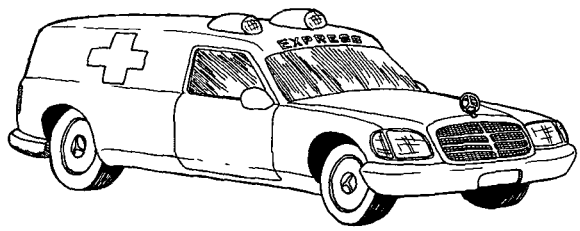
It might just happen this year, but what form will it take?
By Danielle Starkey



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California Journal's *most popular publication — the annual compilation of who's who and who's where in California government. The 1993 edition has been completely updated to include all of the new legislators and members of Congress, newly appointed committee members and agency and department heads, as well as useful Capitol phone numbers. The* Roster *also is available as a reprint and on diskette.*

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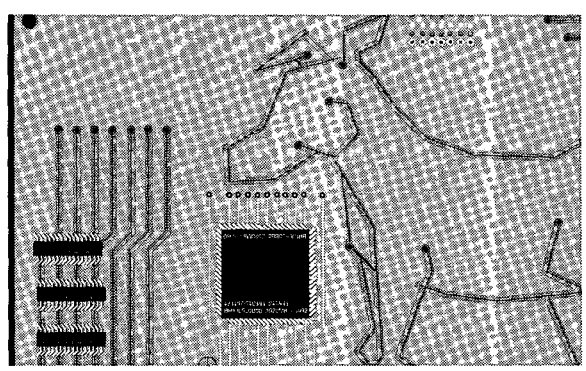

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UP FRONT

He's baaaaaaaack. Former Democratic state Senator Alan Robbins, a one-time legislative powerhouse, had been languishing in Lompoc federal prison near Santa Barbara since last June when he began serving a five-year sentence for racketeering and filing a false tax return. Robbins, ensnared in an FBI sting at the Capitol, had pled guilty to those charges back in December 1991, and the five-year hiatus was part of his plea bargain. At the time of his conviction, it was reported that Robbins was cooperating with the federales, who were continuing to investigate corruption and influence-peddling at the Capitol. But not much has been heard from or about Robbins since his trip up the river.

Until now.

On December 18, 1992, the U.S. Marshall's Service went to Lompoc, checked Robbins out of prison and transferred him for an undetermined period to El Dorado County Jail in Placerville, near Sacramento. Jail officials confirmed that Robbins was one of their guests, but a spokeswoman for the local U.S. Attorney's office, which handled Robbins' conviction and the on-going investigations, refused to comment on why the former Van Nuys lawmaker has been returned to the Sacramento area. There was some speculation that Robbins had been brought back to add a few new verses to the cooperative song he sang to federal prosecutors last year.

Then last month, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that U.S. prosecutors were stepping up their investigation of corruption under the Capitol dome. Mentioned as potential targets of this renewed federal effort were former state Senator Paul Carpenter (now awaiting retrial after a previous corruption conviction was overturned on appeal), GOP state Senator Frank Hill, GOP Assemblyman Pat Nolan and superlobbyist Clay Jackson.

Did Robbins sing about them?

Sorry, Pete. Seems in our story last month on the Christian right (see "The new crusaders," *CJ*, January 1993), we made a Dali-esque gaffe. We identified Governor Pete Wilson as having a "pro-life stance" on abortion rights, then compounded the confusion by announcing that this stance was "a fundamental source of friction between the governor and conservatives." No, each side has not had a massive change of heart. Wilson is — and always has been — pro-choice. Christian rightists are, for the most part, pro-life — hence the truth of the notion that there is friction between the two sides on the issue of abortion rights.

Surfer update. Simpson Paper Company announced plans recently to shut down its Eureka pulp mill, possibly as early as this month. Simpson said it can't afford to install wastewater treatment equipment required under an out-of-court settlement with the Surfrider Foundation (see "Surfer justice," *CJ*, January 1992) when the plant already is operating at a loss because of high wood-chip and production costs and low pulp prices. The mill employs 262 workers. A Surfrider spokesman called the plant closure unfortunate and said his group didn't intend to contribute to the plant's closing or to disturb the region's economy. On the other hand, the spokesman added, "the mill was polluting the water, and if it is their [Simpson's] decision to close the mill rather than comply with federal Clean Water Act regulations, then certainly that is their prerogative."

Lawsuit of the month. Republican Congressman Duncan Hunter of Coronado takes the prize for his effort to sue his 52nd District Democratic opponent — realtor and apple grower Janet Gastil — for things she said and printed during the 1992 campaign. Seems Hunter objected to Gastil calling him a check-kiter, a reference to the fact that 399 of his checks had bounced at the now-defunct House Bank. The congressman considered the term defamatory and took Gastil to court. Gastil, on the other hand, said her comments about Hunter amounted to "acceptable political speech," and her attorney cited instances where Abraham Lincoln had been called a baboon, George Washington a murderer and U.S. Grant a drunk — all non-defamatory statements. Apparently, a San Diego Superior Court judge agreed with Gastil. Judge Robert O'Neill dismissed Hunter's suit "without leave to amend." In other words, let it rest, Duncan. This, of course, is the same Duncan Hunter who, on the House floor, referred to President Bill Clinton as a dupe of the Soviet KGB while a student at Oxford during the 1970s. But, hey, defamation, like real estate, depends on three factors: location, location and location. Say something on the street, and it's defamation. Say the same thing on the floor of the U.S. Congress — and it's political debate.

"Let us resolve to reform our politics, so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America."

— Bill Clinton

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smartalecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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ROSTRUM

Card clubs

Regarding your article on card clubs (see "The painless tax," *CJ*, January 1993), contains a number of errors. First, the statement that the Bicycle Club is in federal receivership is totally untrue. The federal government owns about 20 percent of the Bicycle Club Casino, with another 10 percent being contested. The ownership came from the government's seizing the assets of some individuals involved in arranging the club's original construction loan. Seventy percent of the club's ownership is firmly in the hands of the original private investors and is not "in federal receivership."

The article also understated the revenue provided by the club to Bell Gardens; the article said between $6 and $7 million when the actual figure is between $10 and $11 million. In addition, to the best of my knowledge, the cities of Stanton and Westminster have never held an election on the issue of card clubs, although the article notes that both cities have voted down cardroom proposals. Finally, your article was behind the times regarding the proposal to turn the Cary Grant Pavilion at Hollywood Race Track into a card club. You stated that the proposal was "in the process of formulation" when in fact, not only has it been formulated, but it was the subject of an intensive and narrowly successful campaign in the November 1992 election.

The biggest danger regarding card rooms and gaming in California is greed of government. Government on all levels, including the state, are hard put for money and increasingly turn to gaming as a means to raise revenue. This presents some real dangers to the gaming industry and to the public.

I am proud of the role the Bicycle Club plays in Bell Gardens. The club provides more than 2000 jobs and supports dozens of local charities.

GEORGE G. HARDIE
Managing Partner
The Bicycle Club
Bell Gardens

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ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT

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California's Budget Dance: Issues and Process, by Richard Krolak. California's $50 billion budget is where the action is when it comes to programs and policy in the nation's largest state. But the budget process is complicated and murky, often taking place behind closed doors. Now comes *California's Budget Dance*, a 128-page book that clearl y outlines the steps, the schedule, the players and the politics of the process. The secret's out now; anyone can be a force in the process. 1990, 5 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 8 $^{1}/_{2}$", 116 pages, $7.95, paper.

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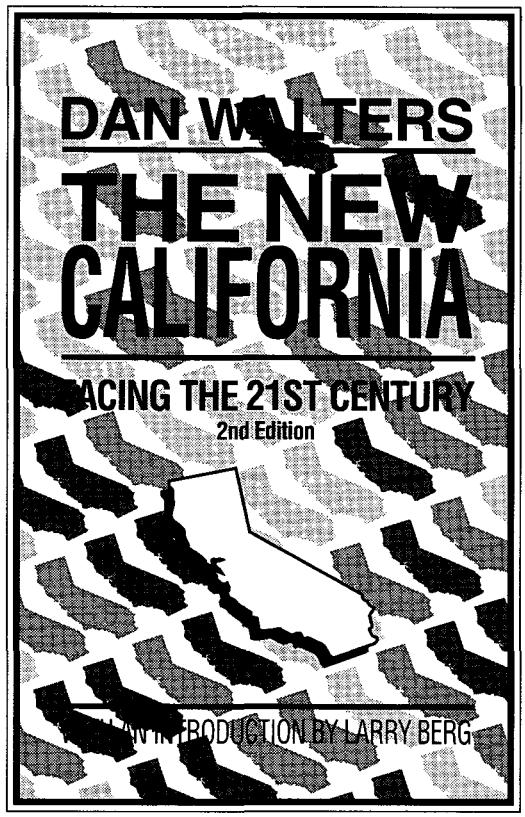

The New California: Facing the 21st Century, 2nd Edtion. By Dan Walters with an introduction by Larry L. Berg. *The Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, completed a 9,000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which served as the basis for this book. It describes the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and political implications of these trends. The first edition of this lively and insightful book became a basic reference on California after its publication in 1987. This 1992 edition is 186 pages long and contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data based on the 1990 Census. Price $11.95.

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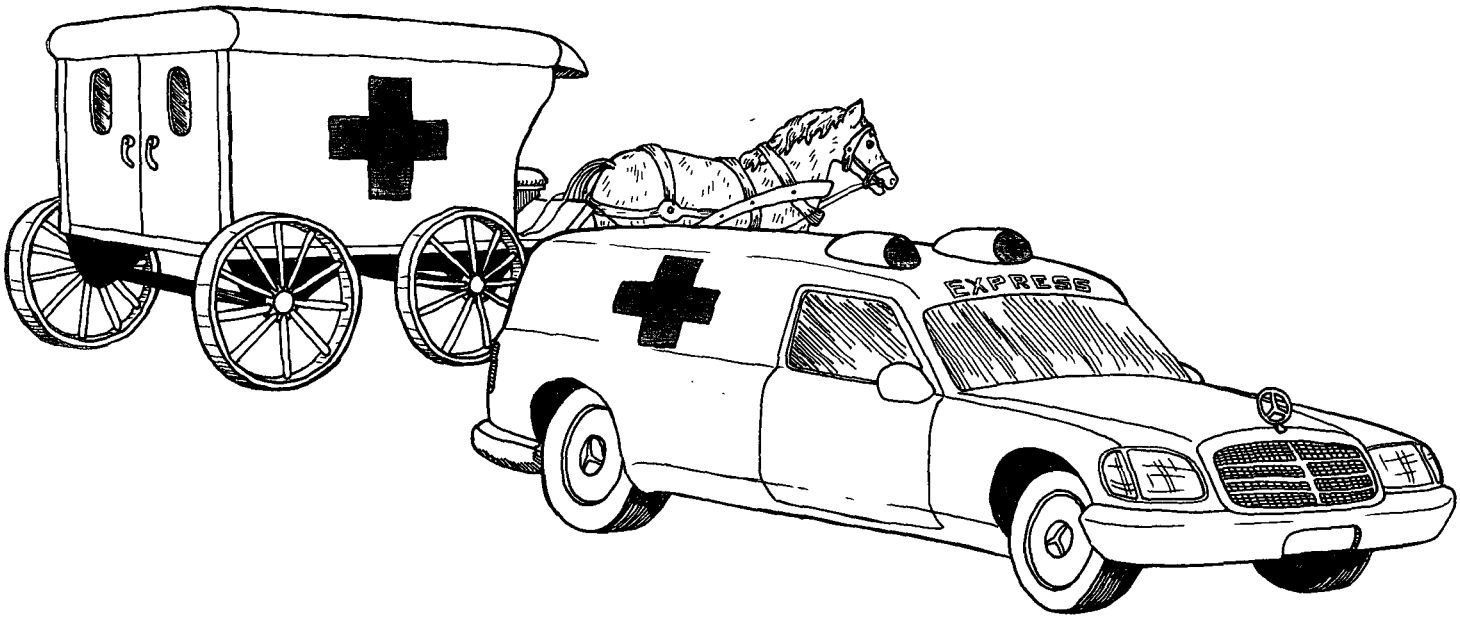

illustration by Rob Wilson

Controlling costs and improving access — solving the health care dilemma

By Danielle Starkey

Benny Milligan is a convicted criminal about to serve nine months in prison for fraud and conspiracy. His crime? Switching identities with his buddy, James McElveen, who had fallen 30 feet down a waterfall and broken his back but had no health insurance to cover his hospital bills. As his boyhood pal lay bloody and unconscious in the emergency room, Milligan, who *did* have insurance, made the switch.

Such is the fate of friend trying to help friend in a country where 35.7 million people are uninsured.

But if talk becomes action, big changes are in store; changes that would make Benny Milligan's actions unnecessary. For the first time since Harry Truman, the United States has a president who promises to push to make universal access to health care available here, as it has been in Canada and Europe for years.

In the last election, candidates who made health-care reform a key issue — such as President Bill Clinton and Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania (a political underdog who defeated former U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh for a Pennsylvania Senate seat) did well. Their victories were due, however, more to growing unrest among middle-class families who were paying more and getting less from their health plans than to sudden concern for the uninsured.

But if the wake-up call for change was unmistakable, now comes the hard part: How do we reconfigure the health-care system to control costs and improve access? If we agree that health care — just as schools, police protection and the courts — should be available to everyone regardless of ability to pay, how will we pay for it?

The prospect of an upheaval in the status quo has filled some with hope, others with dread. But few deny that change should come: not even the insurance companies, who fear they're pricing themselves out of existence; nor the physicians dealing with an ever-growing "hassle factor" in their practice; and certainly not the patients denied appropriate care.

The reasons some people in the United States have virtually unlimited health care while others get little are tied to our national character. Perhaps if we'd had a major cholera epidemic 150 years ago in our urban slums (as did Europe) that claimed the lives of the rich as well as the poor, we would look at health care differently.

But we traditionally have distrusted government intervention. We've encouraged expensive medical innovations; we've tolerated high administrative costs and malpractice suits and we've allowed physicians to demand autonomy and dazzling salaries.

The result has been a medical bill equal to 14 percent of

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Health care in Hawaii and Oregon

The Hawaiian Model

Hawaii instituted employer mandates in 1974, and today 98 percent of the state's population is covered (compared to 84 percent nationally), and premiums are far cheaper there than anywhere in the United States. (Monthly health insurance premiums for small businesses in Hawaii average $94, compared to $141 in California, $140 in Georgia and $217 in Massachusetts.) The responsibility to provide coverage is shared by employees — who if they work more than 20 hours per week are required to pay 1.5 percent of monthly wages or half the premium cost, whichever is cheaper — and employers, who pay the balance. The government covers anyone not covered by an employer.

"Until three or four years ago, it wasn't widely known what we had done," said Dr. Peter Sybinsky, Hawaii's deputy director for health resources. "I think people put us out of mind because we're so far away, yet our system has been successful in an American economy."

Sybinsky attributes that success to the fact that insurance ratings (which determine premiums) are based on the total community rather than on the employees of a particular company, which keeps premiums down. In addition, with health care widely available, the population seeks preventive care and is healthier, and so health costs are more reasonable.

In California, which has 5 percent more than the national average of its workforce employed by businesses with fewer than 100 employees, employer mandates have been particularly unpopular. But in Hawaii, which also is a "small business" state (97 percent of businesses), nearly three-quarters of small businesses are providing insurance, Sybinsky said.

The Oregon plan

Seven-year-old Coby Howard died of leukemia in Oregon in 1987, bringing national attention to the state's policy to eliminate Medicaid funding for organ transplants (such as a bone marrow transplant for Coby) and increase coverage for pregnant women instead. Since then, debate there has continued on the question, "With a limited pot of money, what is the equity in giving sophisticated and costly services to a few Oregonians before providing basic health-care services to other needy citizens?"

Under new Oregon law, all residents eventually will have health insurance, either by paying for it privately or through Medicaid, and starting in 1995, most employers would have to provide a health plan equal to or superior to the one given Medicaid beneficiaries.

But to control costs, services deemed less-than-essential would be excluded under a priority ranking system that was developed by condensing all diagnoses and treatments into 709 categories. Last July, Oregon lawmakers figured they had enough money to cover services through Number 587 on their list. (Left uncovered were treatment for extremely premature babies; transplants for alcoholic cirrhosis of the liver, among others.)

The Oregon plan angers those who say the state "has not earned the right to ration health care" because other, more humane alternatives — such as raising taxes on middle and upper income Oregonians; cutting administrative costs and reducing physician fees — have not been explored. They also complain that the ranking system is bizarre. (It has undergone several modifications.)

Defenders of the plan say rationing already exists, and add that their plan in any case is less arbitrary. They also say that Oregon simply is confronting the reality that the United States cannot continue to provide every treatment to everyone. Before it can be implemented, the plan must be approved by the federal government, since it calls for a change in Medicaid eligibility.

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all goods and services produced last year, which is nearly twice the percentage of GNP that other industrialized countries spend. And we have relatively little to show for it. Of the $838 billion we spent last year, experts say a whopping 25 percent went either to a bloated bureaucracy or was wasted on unnecessary treatments ordered to recoup costs for expensive equipment or to avert malpractice suits.

Clinton promised to present a plan within 100 days of his January inauguration (although that date already has been pushed back) that will help contain costs and broaden access, but the particulars are still sketchy. Broadly speaking, however, his plan would require employers to provide coverage to workers (with government subsidizing everyone else); establish purchasing cooperatives to enable consumers to drive better bargains and, possibly in the short-term, set rates. He also has said he is "inclined to agree with" those who believe some health benefits should be taxed.

The sounds of change rumbling at the federal level has had the effect of pushing the pause button on the health-policy debate in state capitals around the country, including in California, which has the fifth-highest uninsured rate in the nation (22.5 percent, compared to a national average of 15.7 percent). Most of those without insurance are workers or their dependents, and the rate is high in California because more people here work in jobs that don't typically offer insurance, such as agriculture, construction or retail, or for small businesses.

"For the last 12 years, everyone who's looked at health-care reform has looked to the state, because in the Bush and Reagan eras, it was clear we weren't going to get comprehensive reform," said Walter Zelman, special deputy to Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi. "Now, there is a president determined to achieve reform, [and] there is little point in our going down some radical reform road until we see what the federal government is going to do.

"We're going to have bills in California that address the issue, [but] the place to focus our energy right now is on the federal government. That's where the debate is going to be for the next six months."

The Clinton plan is taking shape as a derivation of "managed care," a system that's been evolving for 50 years. Industrialist Henry J. Kaiser was one of the first to introduce managed care, defined as a network of physicians and hospitals who agree to provide a comprehensive set of health-care services to enrolled members for a pre-determined price.

(Health insurance dates back to the Great Depression, when hospitals discovered that their main source of income — direct payment by patients — was drying up. Insurance actuaries at first were skeptical; they thought that risks insured against — such as a house fire or theft — should be measurable, and certainly *not* anything the insured person would want or could control. But in 1934 Blue Cross defied earnings expectations, and soon the health-insurance marketplace was crowded.)

"The traditional approach used by insurance companies was to be very passive. They just paid the [medical] bill and they didn't attempt to negotiate rates in advance or ask any questions," according to John Hillman, a senior analyst at

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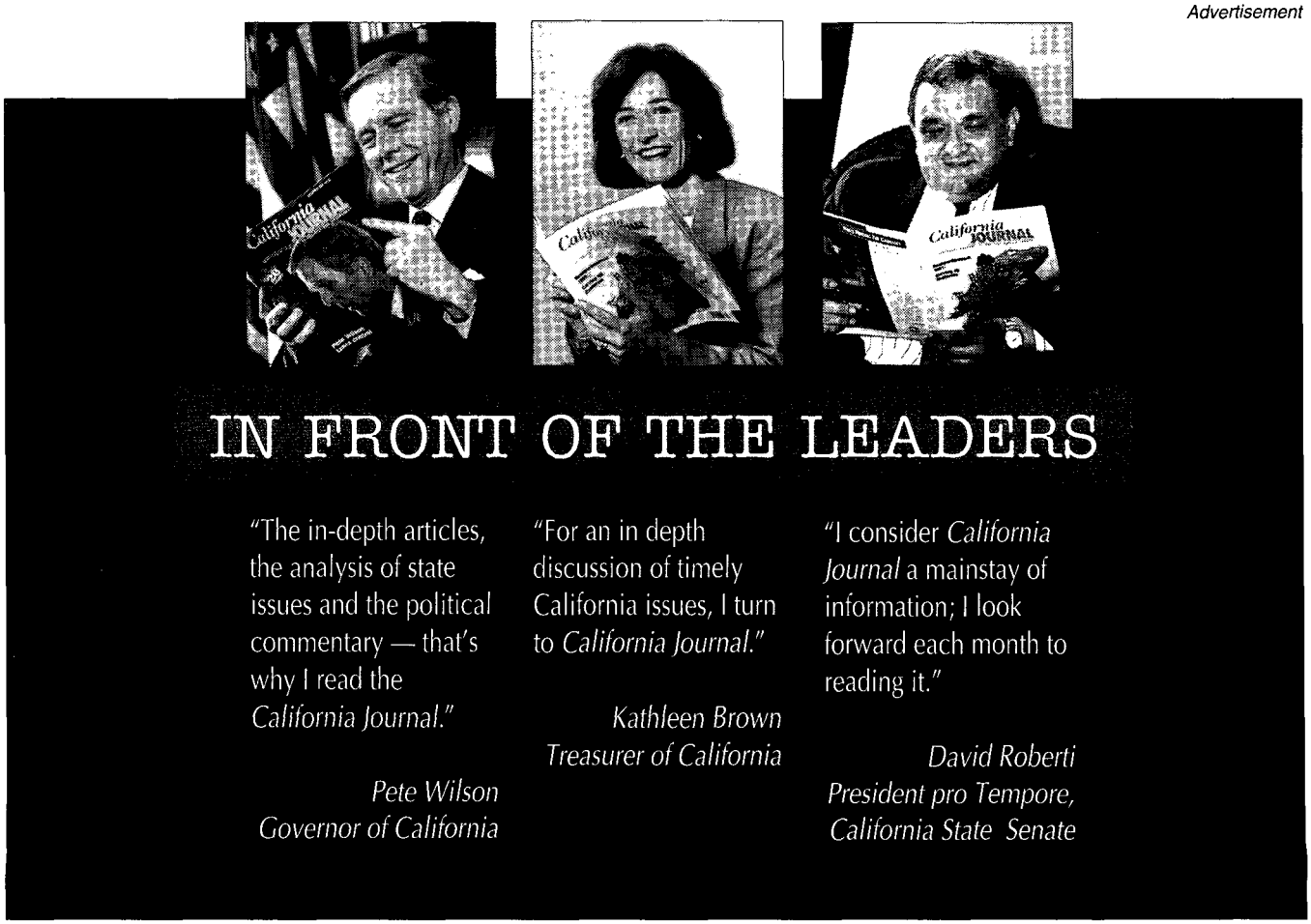
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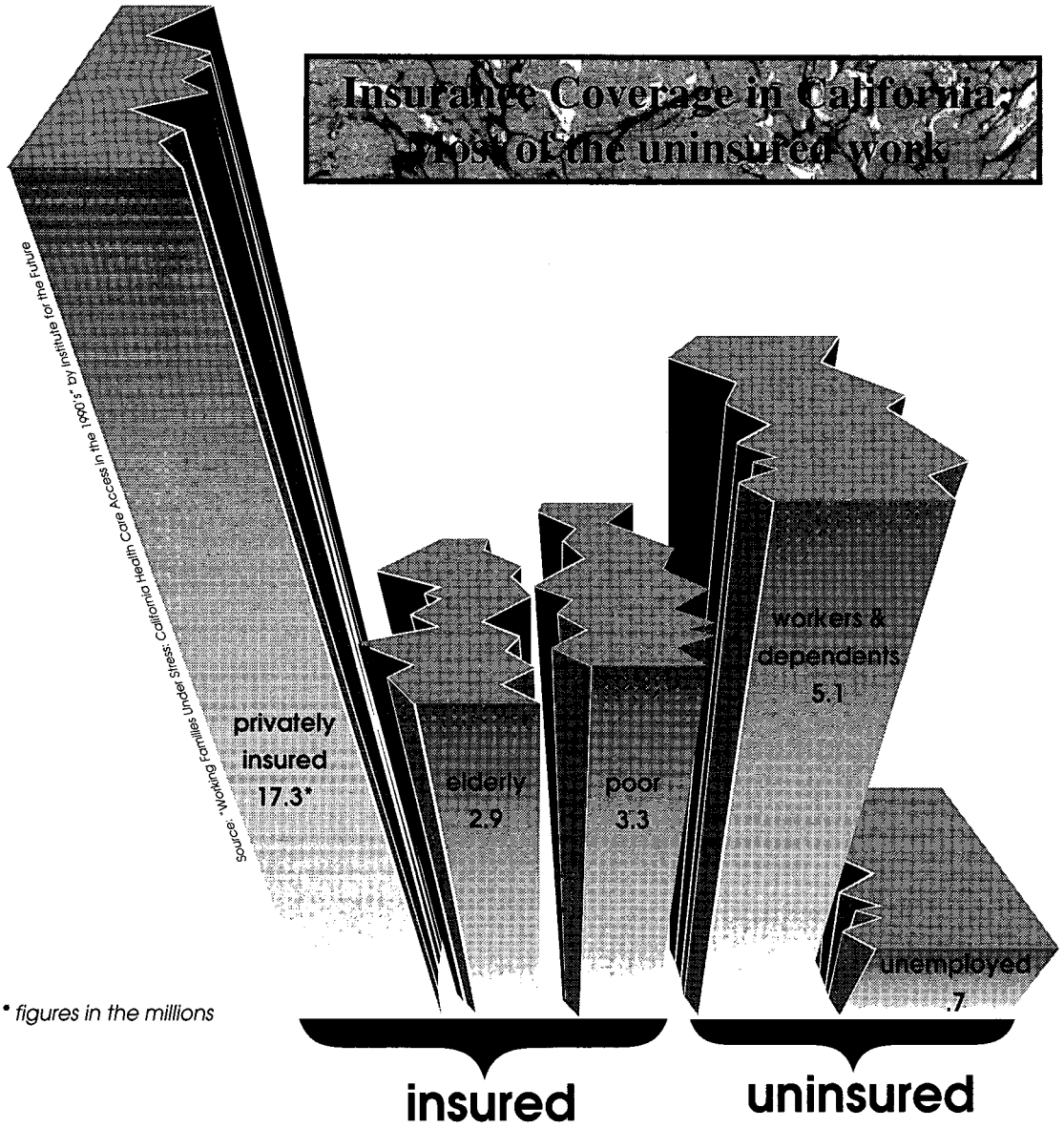
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Kaiser Permanente. "Under managed care, they took a more aggressive, pro-active approach."

Today, at least half of all practicing physicians in the United States are involved in a managed-care plan such as a health-maintenance organization (HMO) or preferred provider organization (PPO), and enrollment in these networks has ballooned, particularly on the two coasts. In the past decade, enrollment in HMOs went from 10.2 million to 39 million, and in PPOs from 1.3 million households in 1984 to 18 million by 1989. Today in California, more than one-third of the population is enrolled in either an HMO or PPO.

Managed competition, the strategy Clinton is eyeing, takes managed care one step farther, Hillman said.

"Managed competition tries to reform the health-insurance market by encouraging competition among insurance plans. The problem right now for many consumers is they don't have adequate choices, and the price they pay does not reflect the true cost society bears for their plan," he said.

What is needed is a change in the tax status of health plans so consumers are inspired to be more cost-conscious, according to Alain Enthoven, professor of management at Stanford University, and Richard Kronick, assistant professor at the UC San Diego medical school — the principle architects of managed competition.

About 150 million Americans don't pay taxes on health insurance provided by their employers, which amounts to lost revenue of $48 billion to the federal government annually. If consumers got a basic health plan that was tax free, but then had to pay out-of-pocket for a more generous package, the new revenue created could help support the uninsured, and also would compel consumers to be more cost-conscious, the theory goes.

Although some voters are bound to miss the logic of what amounts to a tax increase, and a tax increase aimed squarely at the middle class, the idea of curbing tax exemptions has been embraced not only by Garamendi, a relatively liberal Democrat, but by the conservative Heritage Foundation. And Clinton has said: "You know, there has to be some personal responsibility in this health-care system we set up. You don't want to punish necessary access... But once you guarantee a threshold of acccess, there ought to be some limit to utilization, I think."

California has in its own backyard one of the purest examples of managed competition: the California Public Employees' Retirement System, which last year negotiated $1.3 billion in health-insurance premiums. Because of its size, CalPERS has enormous bargaining clout — much as the proposed Health Insurance Purchasing Cooperatives (HIPCs) proposed by Clinton and others would have — and has begun to use that clout recently with interesting results.

Until 1990 state workers (who account for about two-thirds of CalPERS members) knew that their employer would pay 100 percent of their health-plan premium as long as the cost of the plan didn't exceed the average price of the four largest health plans contracting with CalPERS. In 1990, however, the state froze its contributions at $410 a month per family, with any amount above that premium having to be paid by the employee. The following year, health-plan rates

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for CalPERS rose an average of only 6 percent, down from 11 percent in 1990 and 17 percent in 1989.

Critics of managed competition — many of whom advocate eliminating insurance companies altogether and replacing them with a single payer — warn that consumers are too ignorant to make informed choices about their health care. They say that public policy should focus on the financial behavior of the supplier, not the consumer.

"These critics say that if you have one `insurance company,' i.e. the government, you can achieve incredible economies of scale, such as in computer systems for bill paying and enrollment," said Hillman. "Furthermore, advocates of the single payer system say there's no advertising and no marketing expenses because everyone has just one choice, no matter if you're David Rockefeller [or anyone else]," which means that rich as well as poor have a stake in maintaining high quality health care.

But whether universal access is administered by a single payer, regional purchasing cooperatives or 1000 insurance companies, the question of how to pay for it while keeping costs down remains.

Indeed, even the current system, in fact, provides a form of universal access, but it is access in its least efficient form: When the uninsured or under-insured seek treatment, they get it only after their condition has deteriorated into an emergency and is most expensive to treat. The costs don't disappear; they're absorbed by the government and other insurance plans.

To produce a more efficient, equitable system of universal access, do we increase taxes? Require employers to provide coverage? Reduce payments to physicians, hospitals and insurers — as they've done in Canada and elsewhere — and use the savings to cover the uninsured? A combination of the above?

- **Increase taxes:** The United States has the lowest tax burden of any industrialized country. (Tax receipts as a total of GNP in 1990 were 30 percent in the United States; 31 percent in Japan; 34 percent in Canada; 37 percent in Germany and the United Kingdom and 44 percent in France.) Some recommend making a distinction between a "basic" and "premium" health plan, and levying taxes on premium plans. The brave few recommend taxing all health benefits as salary, thus eliminating a tax break that is about as sacred as the one on home mortgage interest.
- **Employer mandates:** Opponents of employer mandates say that providing a social benefit — such as health care — should not be the responsibility of business, and could force some to file bankruptcy or lay off workers. Proponents say that the companies that now provide insurance are subsidizing those that do not through the cost of their premiums (since premiums reflect the cost of providing medical care to the uninsured), placing them at a competitive disadvantage.
- **Rate ceilings:** The federal government predicts the nation's health-care spending will swell from $838 billion to about $920 billion in the next 10 years. Proponents say capping expenditures — for example, in the manner currently used in the Medicare program — could achieve savings without compromising the quality of health care

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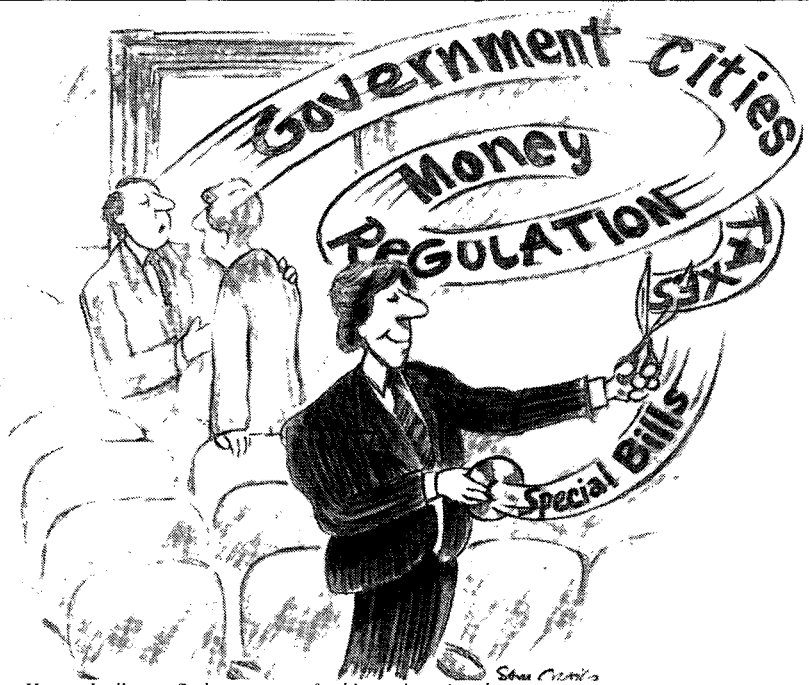

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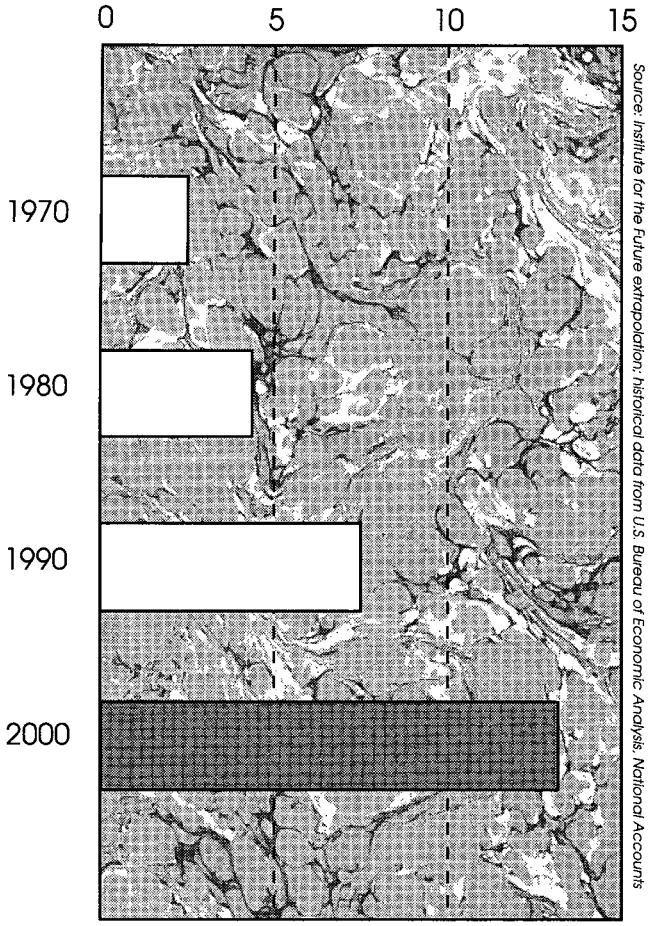
Health Care Benefits Are Getting Increasingly Costly

(As a share of total wages and salaries)



Source: Institute for the Future extrapolation; historical data from U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, National Accounts

because so many services today are inappropriate or unnecessary. Opponents warn that spending caps and enforced budgets will result in rationing; long waits for treatment; layoffs and strikes by health care providers. They also point to evidence that freezing physician fees under Medicare was followed by sharp increases in the number of services provided.

In the old days, when patients paid fees out-of-pocket, there were obvious limits to the fees charged and also to treatments given. But with insurance companies paying the bill, some physicians and hospitals operate as if they have a blank check.

"If you look at the laws of supply and demand, they don't work in health care," said Maryann O'Sullivan, executive director of Health Access, a consumer coalition. "The same physician who says what you need provides the care, [and] there's a tremendous incentive to provide more than what the patient needs."

These incentives include: Hospitals looking for ways to pay for expensive equipment they purchased to keep up with the Joneses (that is, the hospital down the street); a shortage of lower-paid general practice physicians who in other countries act as "gatekeepers" in diagnosing illnesses; physician salaries that are the highest in the world; physicians having a financial interest in labs where they send their patients; and everyone taking "defensive measures" to avoid malpractice suits.

"Forty percent of our hospitals are empty because there's no enforced health planning. You don't have anybody who looks at what is needed," O'Sullivan said. The competition among hospitals is "like an arms race," she said, adding that Health Access favors placing "control over the purse strings in one place."

Others who study managed competition warn that the competition it fosters might not benefit everyone, and most vulnerable would be the politically expendable poor and lower-middle classes. Even if insurers are required to offer one or more low-cost plans to them, they would prefer to sell "premium" packages to the affluent. These packages would include amenities such as treatment in the finest hospitals and short waits.

"Those in the cheaper plans would be told they'd have to go across town, or wait four or five months for an appointment," said Richard Brown, professor of public health at UCLA and health-policy adviser to Democratic U.S. Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska. "We already have experience with these problems. Look at Medicaid [the state-federal program for the needy known as Medi-Cal in California]. You may have coverage, but just try and get service."

Although there may be a defined list of services that must be provided by the basic plans, "Enforcement is critical," said Brown. "The population that remains in the low-cost plan will be low-income people. They wouldn't have the clout to ensure a continuing level of funding for the programs that provide coverage to them." And as states grapple with ever-tighter budgets, they'll feel pressured to drop certain services.

In addition, he said, administrative costs as a percentage of total health care costs may actually *increase* under managed competition. "There's some expectation [managed competition] would reduce the number of insurers in the marketplace," as the less-efficient ones are forced out. "But there's really no reason to believe that, unless the HIPCs [buying cooperatives] limit the number who can compete," he said. "But it would seem that any HIPC would want to let *more* insurers into the field. The more that enter the field, the more competition."

As American consumers grow more irritated by rising health-care costs, pressure on policy-makers grows to *do* something. And as they wait to see what goes on at the federal level, the key word appears to be "incremental."

"Everyone in public health believes passionately that everybody should have access to needed and appropriate care. There's no disagreement with that; the issues come from how to pay for it and organize the delivery and purchase," said Dr. Molly Coye, director of the California Department of Health Services.

"Our long-term goal [in California] is to try to improve our publicly financed health-care programs so that getting services is coordinated and there's some ability to relate the outcomes to money spent," she said. That would happen by reshaping the state's $13.7 billlion program into a health-maintenance organization for the poor.

"Our goal right now is to get half of the 5.2 million MediCal patients on managed care by the end of fiscal year 1994-95," she said. "My greatest concern in going to managed care is finding ways to help traditional providers make the transition." Even spending the same amount of money but improving access for the MediCal population "is a real accomplishment," she said.

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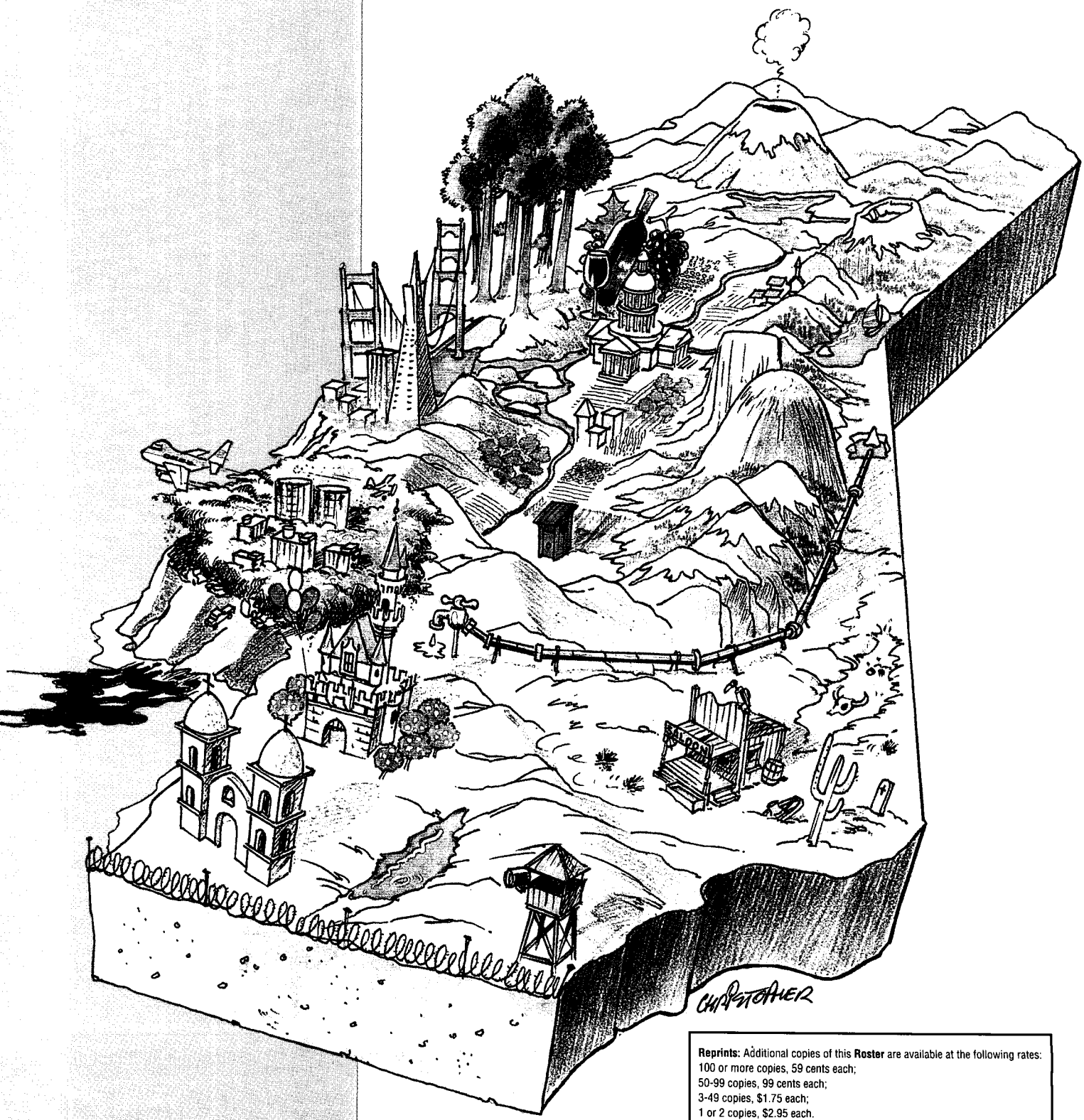

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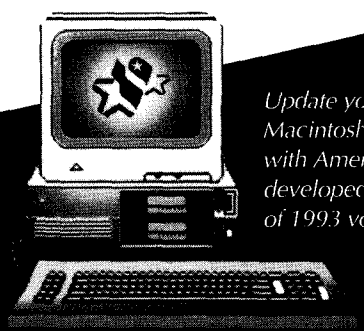

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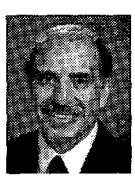

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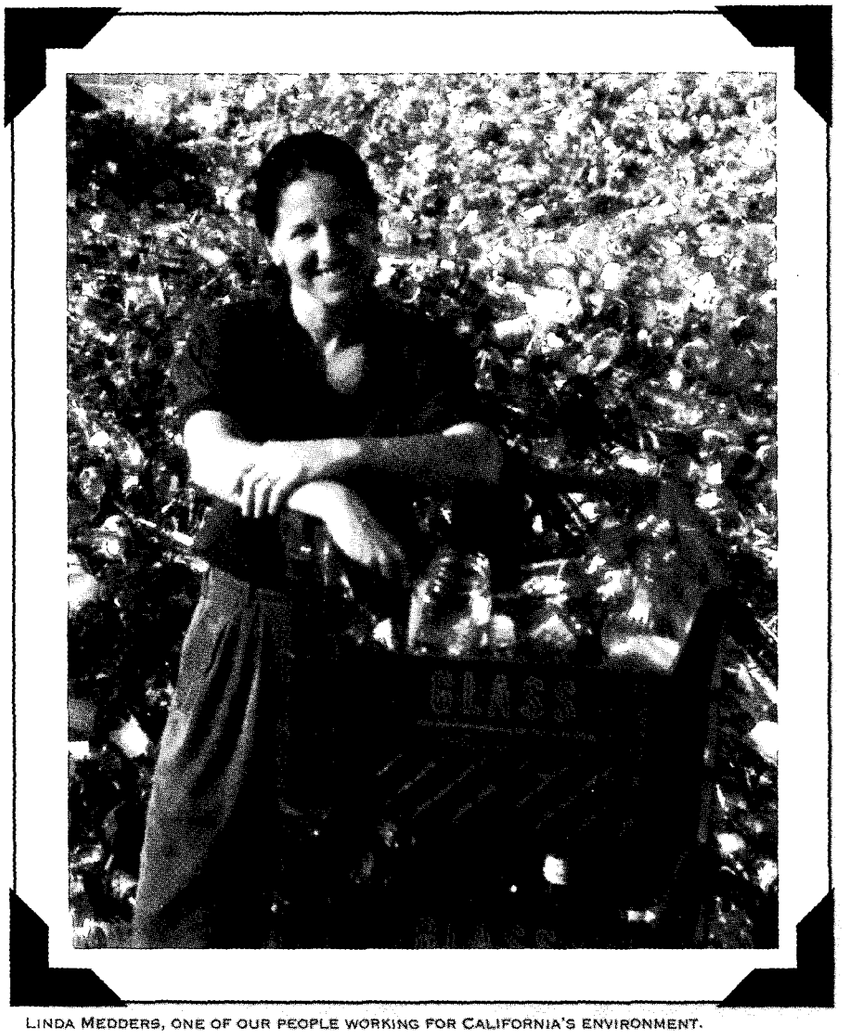

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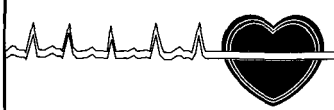
♥ Brain waves can be measured at 40 days.

♥ All body systems are present by 8 weeks (two months)

—The Prenatal Origin of Behavior, University of Kansas Press



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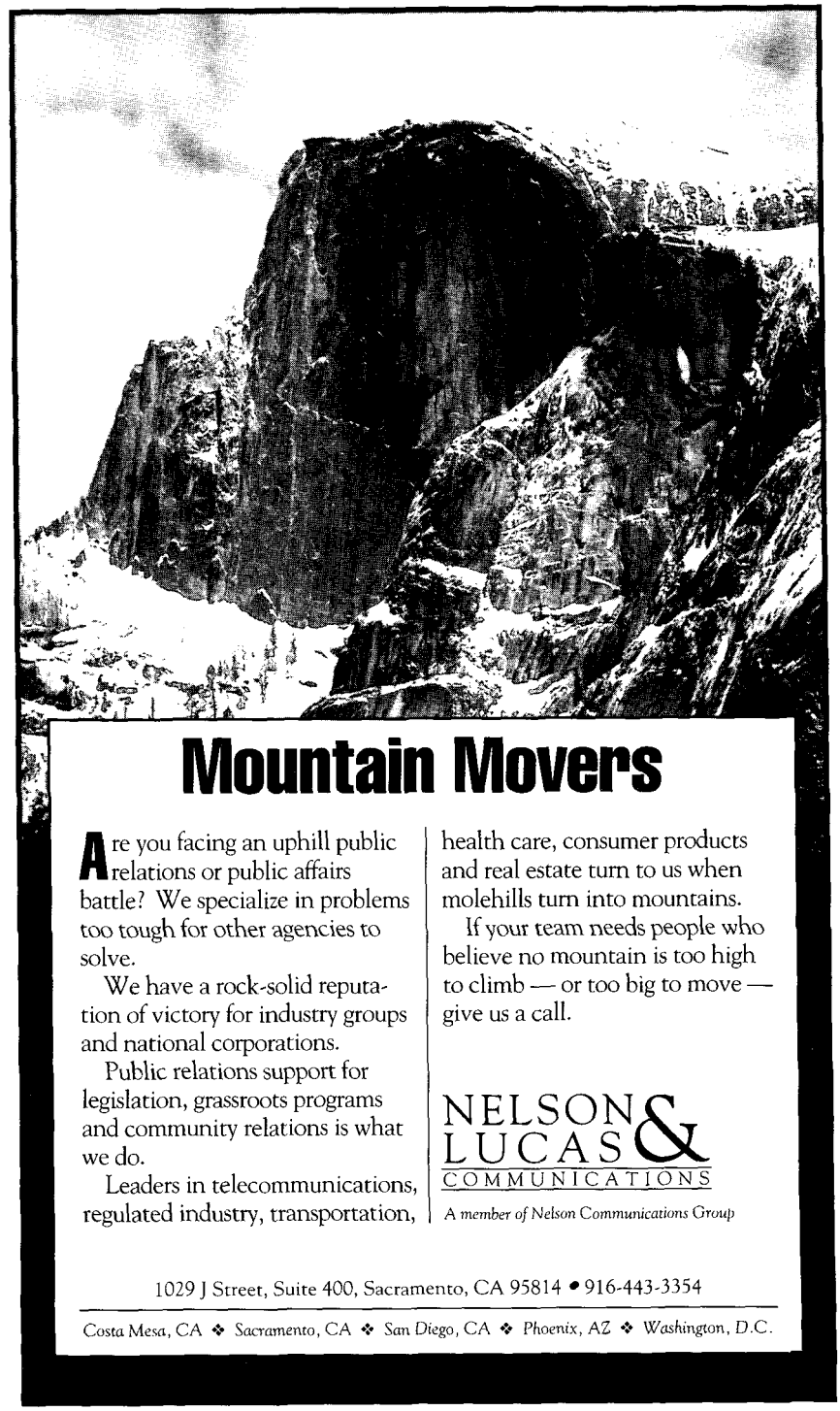
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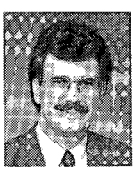

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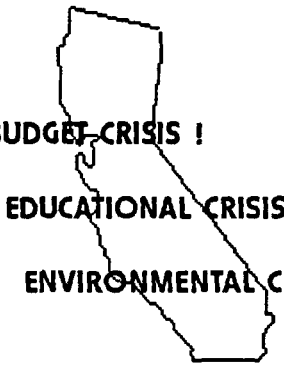

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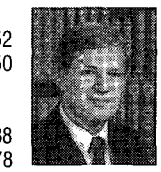

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Fax: (619) 237-7229

Ex Officio Member
Gray Davis, Controller
Elected: 1986, 1990
300 Capitol Mall, 18th Fl
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-2636
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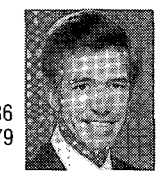

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901 Wilshire Blvd, #210
Santa Monica 90401-1856 (310)
451-5777
Fax: (310) 458-9088

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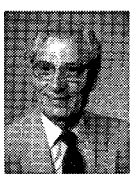

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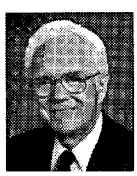

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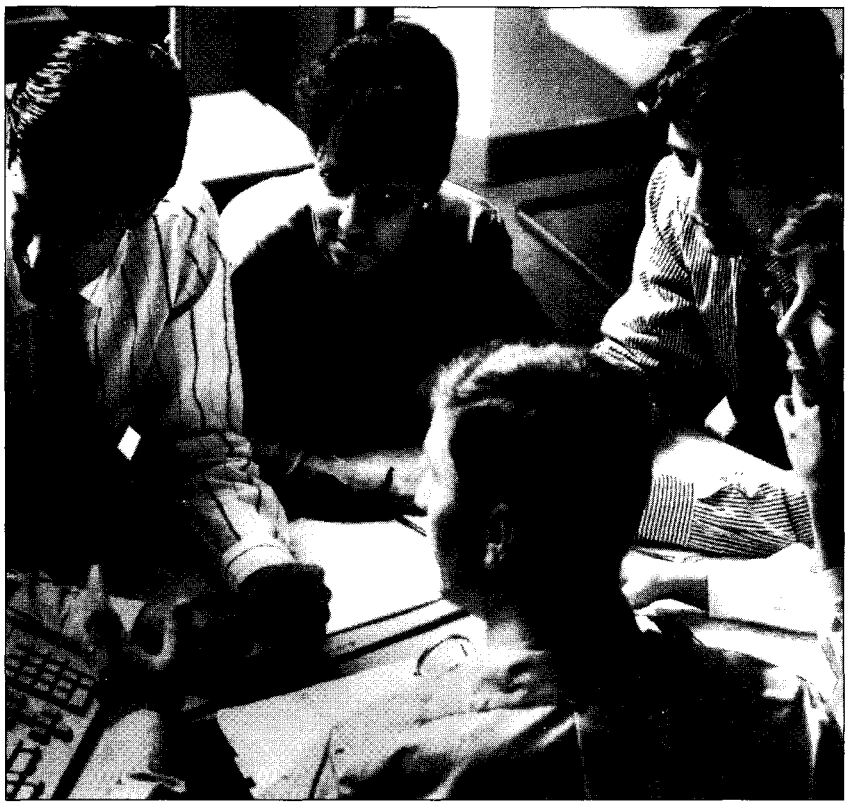

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Senate Rules Committee - Appointments
445-0924

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Susan Foreman, Director
323-9330

Senate Personnel Office
Dina Hidalgo, Director of Personnel
324-4831

Senate Office of Fiscal Records
Mike Ward, Budget Officer
323-3983

Senate Supplies Office
Martha Cervantes, Supply Officer
445-1476

LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR

1993

Jan 29 Last day to submit bill requests to the the Legislative Counsel.

Mar 5 Last day to introduce bills in 1993

Apr 1 Easter recess begins upon adjournment

Apr 12 Legislature reconvenes

Apr 23 Last day for policy committees to report bills for referral to fiscal committees

May 21 Last day for policy committees to report bills introduced in their house to Floor

May 28 Last day for policy committees to meet prior to June 14

June 4 Last day for fiscal committees to report bills; last day for fiscal committees to meet prior to June 14

June 11 Last day for bills to be passed out of house of origin

June 14 Committee meetings may resume

June 15 State budget must be passed by midnight

July 16 Last day for policy committees to meet; summer recess begins upon adjournment, provided a budget has been enacted

Aug 16 Legislature reconvenes

Aug 27 Last day for fiscal committees to meet and report bills

Sep 10 Last day for either house to pass bills; interim recess begins upon adjournment

Oct 10 Last day for governor to sign or veto bills passed by the Legislature on or before September 10th and in his possession after September 10th.

1994

Jan 1 Statutes take effect

Jan 3 Legislature reconvenes

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(vc=vice chair)

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Democrats: Ayala (vc), Calderon, Presley, Thompson
Republicans: Craven, Kelley, Lewis, Rogers
Independent: Kopp
Consultant: Mark Hite
Secretary: Shirley Smaage
2031 Capitol Building 445-5441
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 9:30 AM, Room 112

Appropriations
Chair: Robert Presley (D)
Democrats: Alquist, Dills, Greene, Johnston, Lockyer, Mello, Torres
Republicans: Bergeson, Beverly (vc), Kelley, Leonard
Independent: Killea
Staff Director: Karen French
Secretary: Georgia Bradley
2206 Capitol Building 445-3284
Meets: Every Mon, 9:30 AM, Room 4203

Banking, Commerce and International Trade
Chair: Waddie Deddeh (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, Calderon, Greene, Johnston, Thompson
Republicans: Beverly, Kelley, Russell (vc)
Consultant: Terry Miller, Fran Burton
Secretary: Carol Thomas
2193 Capitol Building 445-6306
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed, 1:30 PM, Room 3191

Budget and Fiscal Review
Chair: Alfred Alquist (D)
Democrats: Calderon, Hart, McCorquodale, Petris, Thompson, Watson
Republicans: Hill, Leslie (vc), Morgan, Wright
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Staff Director: Steve Larson
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Business and Professions
Chair: Dan Boatwright (D)
Democrats: Ayala, Greene, Hart, Marks, McCorquodale, Rosenthal
Republicans: Craven, Kelley, Lewis (vc)
Independent: Killea
Consultant: Jay DeFuria
Secretary: Robin Jenkins
3086 Capitol Building 445-3435
Meets: 2nd & 4th Mon, 1:30 PM, Room 3191

Constitutional Amendments
Chair: John Lewis (R)
Democrats: Alquist (vc), Hart, McCorquodale
Republicans: Maddy
Consultant: Wade Teasdale
Secretary: vacant
3074 Capitol Building 445-4264
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues, 9:30 AM, Room 112

Education
Chair: Gary Hart (D)
Democrats: Deddeh, Dills, Greene, Johnston, Torres, Watson
Republicans: Morgan (vc), Wright
Independent: Killea, Kopp
Consultant: Bill Whiteneck
Secretary: Sandy Malush
2053 Capitol Building 445-2522
Meets: Every Wed, 9:30 AM, Room 4203

Elections and Reapportionment
Chair: Milton Marks (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, Lockyer, Rosenthal, Torres
Republicans: Beverly, Craven (vc)
Consultant: Timothy Hodson, Darren Chesin
Secretary: Deborah Mitten
5051 Capitol Building 445-2601
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 9:30 AM, Room 3191

Energy and Public Utilities
Chair: Herschel Rosenthal (D)
Democrats: Alquist, Greene, Hart, Hayden, Hughes, Torres
Republicans: Morgan, Russell (vc)
Consultant: Michael Shapiro, David Gamson
Secretary: Patricia Stearns
2035 Capitol Building 445-9764
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues, 1:30 PM, Room 112

Governmental Organization
Chair: Ralph Dills (D)
Democrats: Alquist, Greene, Hughes, Lockyer, Mello, Rosenthal, Torres
Republicans: Beverly, Hill, Maddy (vc)
Consultant: Stephen Hardy, Arthur Terzakis
Secretary: Billie Williams
5048 Capitol Building 445-1193
Meets: Every Tues, 9:30 AM, Room 3191

Health and Human Services
Chair: Diane Watson (D)
Democrats: Calderon, Deddeh, Hughes, Mello, Rosenthal, Thompson
Republican: Bergeson, Hill, Leslie, Wright
Consultant: John Miller
Secretary: Geri LaDuke
2191 Capitol Building 445-5965
Meets: Every Wed, 1:30 PM, Room 4203

Housing and Urban Affairs
Chair: Mike Thompson (D-acting)
Democrats: Hayden, Marks, Rosenthal
Republicans: Bergeson (vc), Leonard
Consultant: Krist Lane, Howard Yee
Secretary: Anna Andrews
2205 Capitol Building 445-8740
Meets: 1st & 3rd Mon, 1:30 PM, Room 2040

Industrial Relations
Chair: Pat Johnston (D)
Democrats: Greene, Lockyer, Petris, Rosenthal
Republicans: Bergeson, Leonard (vc)
Consultant: Jeff Shelton
Secretary: Nancy Fox
4039 Capitol Building 445-1237
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed, 9:30 AM, Room 2040

Insurance, Claims and Corporations
Chair: Art Torres (D)
Democrats: Deddeh, Johnston, McCorquodale, Rosenthal, Watson
Republicans: Hill (vc), Lewis, Rogers, Russell
Independent: Killea
Consultants: Bob Fredenburg, Michael Hernandez
Secretary: Jolyne Budmark
2080 Capitol Building 445-0825
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 1:30 PM, Room 112

Judiciary
Chair: Bill Lockyer (D)
Democrats: Calderon, Marks, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Torres, Watson
Republicans: Leslie (vc), Wright
Consultant: Les Kleinberg
Secretary: Linda Hashimoto-Myers
2032 Capitol Building 445-5957
Meets: Every Tues, 1:30 PM, Room 4203

Local Government
Chair: Marian Bergeson (R)
Democrats: Ayala (vc), Calderon, Hughes
Republicans: Craven, Russell
Independent: Kopp
Consultant: Peter Detwiler, April Manatt
Secretary: Sandy Kenyon
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Natural Resources and Wildlife
Chair: Mike Thompson (D)
Democrats: Hart (vc), Hayden, Johnston, Marks, McCorquodale, Mello, Torres
Republicans: Leslie, Lewis, Rogers
Consultant: Vacant
Secretary: Nancy Lynott
3056 Capitol Building 445-3353
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues, 9:30 AM, Room 4203

Public Employment and Retirement
Chair: Teresa Hughes (D)
Democrats: Johnston, McCorquodale
Republicans: Rogers, Wright (vc)
Consultant: David Felderstein
Secretary: Nancy Shipley
2203 Capitol Building 445-8958
Meets: 1st & 3rd Mon, 1:30 PM, Room 2040

Revenue and Taxation
Chair: Leroy Greene (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, Dills, Lockyer
Republicans: Maddy, Morgan (vc)
Independent: Kopp
Consultant: Martin Helmke, Anne Maitland
Secretary: Mercedes Flores
4072 Capitol Building 445-3808
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 1:30 PM, Room 3191

Rules
Chair: David Roberti (D)
Democrats: Ayala, Petris
Republican: Beverly, Craven (vc)
Executive Officer: Cliff Berg
Secretary: Pat Webb
400 Capitol Building 445-4311
Meets: Every Wed, 1:30 PM, Room 113

Toxics and Public Safety Management
Chair: Charles Calderon (D)
Democrats: Hayden, Lockyer, Torres
Republicans: Wright
Consultant: Gordon Hart, Michael Burns
Secretary: Margaret Merritt
407 Capitol Building 324-0894
Meets: 2nd & 4th Mon, 1:30 PM, Room 112

Transportation
Chair: Quentin Kopp (I)
Democrats: Ayala, Boatwright, Hayden, Johnston, McCorquodale (vc), Torres
Republicans: Bergeson, Kelley, Russell
Independent: Killea
Consultant: Mehdi Morshed, Steven Schnaidt
Secretary: Jone McCarthy
2195 Capitol Building 445-3182
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 1:30 PM, Room 112

Veterans Affairs
Chair: Don Rogers (R)
Democrats: Ayala, Calderon, Deddeh, Dills, Thompson
Consultant: David Grafft
Secretary: Linda Mayberry
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Are your organization's goals realistic?	☐	☐

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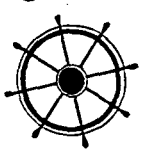

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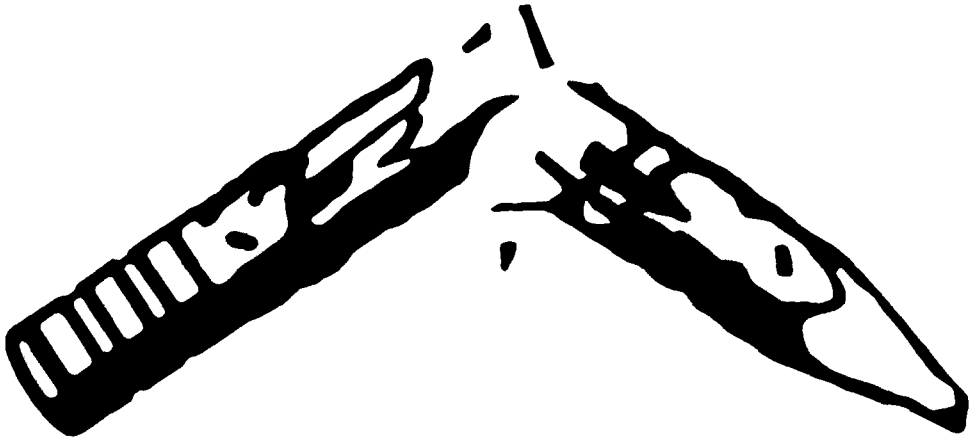

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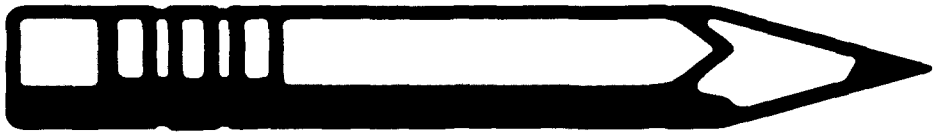

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CALIFORNIA'S LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Initial steps by author

IDEA

Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING

Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION

Bill submitted by senator or Assembly member. Numbered and read for first time. Assigned to committee by Assembly or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

Action in house of origin

COMMITTEE

Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.
Bills with any fiscal implications, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Appropriations Committee in the Senate and to Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

SECOND READING

Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate on a subsequent day.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and most appropriations measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

Disposition in second house

READING

Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE

Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING

If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

Resolution of two-house differences (if necessary)

CONCURRENCE

The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE

If the conferees fail to agree, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise (conference report), both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee may be formed.

Role of the governor

SIGN OR VETO?

Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor may sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.
Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

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The environment and jobs

Seeking balance between owls and people

By Pat Paquette

A little more than a year ago, Governor Pete Wilson stood on the Capitol steps side-by-side with conservationists and timber company executives to announce his endorsement of landmark forestry reform legislation ceremoniously dubbed the "Grand Accord." On the sidelines, a lobbyist for Sierra Club California was handing out press releases protesting the deal as a sell-out to the timber industry. Sierra Club leaders only a few months earlier had backed a similar bill, enraging grass-roots volunteers who charged that club executives sought the best political solution, but one they claimed would do little to protect ancient redwoods, wildlife, fisheries and water quality. After the governor vetoed the earlier bill and proposed a weaker version, Sierra Club leaders decided they no longer could afford to alienate their volunteers, and pulled out of the compromise effort.

The club immediately became an outcast within the Sacramento environmental community and was labeled "unreasonable" and "extremist." Some of the most pro-environmental lawmakers privately urged the Sierra Club to capitulate, saying the bill was the best that environmentalists could hope for in the coming session — and possibly forever. A sour economy and record state budget deficit, complicated by election-year politics and redistricting, was going to make it a tough year to get any new environmental legislation on the books, they cautioned.

That prediction, it turned out, was accurate. Not only was the Sierra Club unsuccessful in getting the changes it said would strengthen the governor's forestry package, but it found itself defending several other state environmental laws from an assault by business and industry groups, who blamed tough regulations for the state's alleged inability to compete economically.

Indeed, Governor Wilson, in his State of the State speech last month, struck this theme again, saying the state must relax some of its regulations and streamline the implementation of others in order to foster the creation of "jobs, jobs, jobs," which he said needed to be the state's primary task.

"Industry — particularly the manufacturing industry, the real estate industry, the building industry — has put together a very concerted, very well-planned-out campaign to create the illusion that [California environmental] laws are diametrically opposed to the economic stability of the state," Sierra Club lobbyist Darryl Young said. "They're using the fear on the economy that's out there and using that as a catalyst to do bad laws — bad laws that the public doesn't necessarily support."

Young and others cite polls they say show that Californians don't buy the jobs-vs.-the-environment argument. "This is not a new argument," he said, adding, "I think some weak decision-makers are using it as an excuse to weaken environmental laws."

In the past legislative session, business and industry groups scored some major successes, and, according to one industry lobbyist, they "want more things fixed" this year. Arguing that environmental regulations are driving companies out of the state or out of business, trade groups were successful in changing the 1988 Clean Air Act and preventing environmental groups from getting the trade-offs they wanted in return. They also were successful in revising the process for permitting low-risk hazardous waste disposal sites, and in killing plans to raise waste-discharge fees.

And, ultimately, it was industry lobbying and not Sierra Club opposition that derailed the Grand Accord. A

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Illustration by Wendy Shaul

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group of coastal companies opposed to the legislation hired some of Sacramento's most powerful lobbyists to canvass the Legislature and the governor's office. Tactics included Simpson Timber's distribution of books filled with photos of employees and their families. In some cases the "family albums," delivered by the loggers themselves, showed the faces of those who, according to the company, could lose their jobs if the legislation passed.

Timber companies that supported the governor's bill did so reluctantly, and toward the end of the legislative session the governor's office was less than enthusiastic. Many proponents blamed Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. for the bill's failure. But it isn't clear the legislation would have survived even if he hadn't opposed it. Too many members were afraid to vote for a bill that at least some timber companies said could cost jobs.

The timber industry scored even bigger at the Board of Forestry, where industry lawyers worked throughout the summer to gut strong regulations modeled on the governor's forestry bill. Environmentalists charge that the regulations will weaken existing restrictions on logging — if they ever become effective. Although the board adopted the regulations in October, it may be March before they are submitted to the Office of Administrative Law, which must approve all new regulations. After that, there is some question whether the California Department of Forestry will have a budget for the extra staff needed to enforce the new rules.

In challenging state environmental laws, business and industry groups argued that they were interested only in streamlining regulatory processes, and not in gutting the substance of the laws — a reasonable position, they said, and one that would help make California more business-friendly. One such group, the California Building Industries Association, said it didn't advocate reducing the environmental standards but wanted to reduce the time it takes to get environmental permits and to eliminate duplication where multiple permits for local, state and federal authorities are required.

"No one is trying to dissolve the standards," said the CBIA's Richard Perry. "We're trying to find a more expedient way to comply with the regulations that implement those standards. This state is not good at that." California regulations — not just those protecting the environment but the whole gamut of regulations, including health and safety rules — make the state an "inhospitable" place to do business, he said.

In an election year dominated by economic issues, even the most pro-environmental lawmakers rushed to respond to industry concerns. Democratic Assemblyman Byron Sher of Palo Alto, who wrote the Clean Air Act, faced what many thought was going to be a much closer race against Republican Jan LaFetra, former mayor of Menlo Park, and would benefit from support in the business community. When he agreed in December 1991 to revise the act, Sher, who chairs the Assembly Natural Resources Committee and is one of the leading environmental advocates in the Legislature, said he and his staff were adamant that they would consider only "legitimate" industry complaints about the regulatory burden imposed by the act and that there would be no backsliding or weakening of the act itself.

Among the most significant concessions industry groups gained was a change in the method of calculating whether a region meets state air quality standards. Under previous law, a region was considered "out of attainment" if one monitoring station within its boundaries exceeded the state limit for one hour during the entire year. Once an area is a non-attainment zone, air pollution regulators must require businesses to install more equipment to control their emissions. The controls can be very expensive.

The driving force behind the provision was the business lobby from the San Francisco Bay Area air district, which includes Sher's Assembly district. The Bay Area bristled at the idea of being lumped in the same attainment category with Los Angeles, and, more important, protested having to meet the same stringent air-pollution regulations.

Environmental negotiators didn't object, saying that merely changing a district's attainment status would have little practical effect on air quality. Others weren't so sure. By definition, changing a district's attainment status would mean that fewer controls would be required, and that would automatically mean degradation of air quality, a regional air district official said.

Sher was obliged to respond to concerns from his constituents and believed that if he didn't accede to some changes, industry lobbyists might have found them elsewhere, Capitol sources said. An aide defended Sher's action, saying the Clean Air Act, as well as some other environmental laws, are in need of fine-tuning. "The major emphasis in our committee this year has been refining some of the advances that were made in other years. Not that it's because there's any reason we can't do additional new stuff — it's more because that refining needed to be done," he said. And aides pointed out, industry negotiators didn't get everything they wanted.

Still, environmentalists got far less. Environmental negotiators hoped that in return for agreeing to some industry provisions, their proposals for tougher restrictions on vehicle pollution would be approved. It didn't happen, and one lobbyist said his group would try again this year.

Moderate environmentalists agree that there are many unnecessarily burdensome regulations and regulatory processes. But many are skeptical of claims by industry groups that they aren't out to gut environmental laws. Statements by some industry representatives don't help allay those fears. For example, industry lobbyists routinely assert that they aren't seeking to scrap state environmental laws, but they go on to say that there are situations in which it would be appropriate for the state to adopt federal standards — which in most cases are less restrictive. And, in the case of laws such as the Endangered Species Act, industry groups argue in favor of adopting federal standards while at the same time their nationwide parent groups are lobbying Congress and the White House to weaken them.

Environmentalists such as the Sierra Club's Young also take exception to industry claims that environmental regulations are responsible for business failures in California.

Recent polls of their own members show that environmental regulations aren't among the top concerns of businesses in the state. A 1991 Business Roundtable survey rated environmental regulations behind health-care costs, liability laws and litigation, housing and labor costs, rent and water supplies, as the worst aspects of doing business in

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California. Of environmental regulations, business found air-pollution controls and toxic-waste laws the most onerous. Ironically, some companies said poor air quality — especially in the Los Angeles area — was hurting business.

A Chamber of Commerce survey released about the same time showed similar results. Members were concerned primarily with taxes and workers' compensation. A Chamber poll earlier this year taken specifically to gauge members' feelings about environmental regulations found that 40 percent of those who responded have changed their production methods to comply with new rules, with more than three-fourths of that subgroup incurring additional costs as a result. Whether the cost increases were prohibitive or enough to drive businesses out of the state wasn't addressed. The survey also showed that for the majority of those who responded, environmental compliance costs are less than 10 percent of their operational budgets.

"No one is saying that environmental regulations are the sole reason anyone is deciding to expand outside California," the Chamber's Kip Solinsky said. "It's just on the list of things. There are a number of factors." But the days of protecting the environment with no consideration for jobs are over, he said.

And, although environmental regulations may not be the main reason businesses are leaving, some companies are, in fact, closing their doors because they can't meet the tough standards, industry lobbyist Terry Frost said. Anyone who says otherwise, "ought to spend more time talking to industry to find out what their problems are," he said.

Sher wasn't the only Democrat on a growing list of legislators eager to do just that. In December 1991 Speaker Brown formed a group called the Assembly Democratic Economic Prosperity Team (ADEPT). One of the group's goals is to draft legislation to streamline environmental permitting. The 11-member group, headed by John Vasconcellos, a liberal Democrat from San Jose who heads the powerful Ways and Means Committee, consulted heavily with business and industry groups before issuing a report in October 1992 recommending 10 steps to help pull California out of its economic malaise.

The study bore an ironic similarity to the strongly pro-business report released earlier in the year by the Governor's Council on California Competitiveness — the "Ueberroth report," so named because the council chairman was former baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth — and was seen as an unprecedented move by the Democrats to show that the Republicans don't have a monopoly on sympathy for business and industry.

Finding ways to balance environmental protection with economic development will require a new mindset, ADEPT said in its report. "We are going to have to outgrow our current adversarial command and control models, and instead grow into a new sense of relationship, trust, partnership and collaboration. That will consist of sharing in developing the vision and goals for our environment, after which there should be granted more responsibility to private enterprise to determine and commit to the means of attaining those, with the government monitoring for success."

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For the past couple of years in California, there has been a trend toward collaboration and consensus between industry and environmental groups. The timber reform negotiations and talks to amend the Clean Air Act are but two examples. But that trend may be losing steam now, in part became of the disillusionment felt by both sides after the Grand Accord failed.

If, for the moment, the environment appears to be losing, that trend may be shifting, too.

Supporters of the governor's grand accord and its sponsors in the Legislature argued with the recalcitrant Sierra Club that there was a window for tough timber legislation, and that the window now is closed. The alliance that produced the legislation was always tenuous, and now that it has fallen apart, there is little chance of another consensus.

But the window may also have come and gone for business and industry groups to assail environmental laws in the name of the recession. Industry groups are looking at a more low-key approach for the next legislative session. While some groups were talking last year of launching a full-scale attack on the most sacred of the state's environmental protection laws, the California Environmental Quality Act, they are now saying they will approach the issue more moderately, looking only for ways to reduce the paperwork load that regulations under the law have created. Industry lobbyists say they also will seek further reductions in hazardous waste fees and more streamlining of clean-air regulations, and they will ask the governor and Assembly Democrats to keep the commitments outlined in their reports on business in California.

Going into the elections, business groups were optimistic that the expected gain in Republican seats would result in a more conservative body likelier to favor business concerns over environmental protections. Instead, the number of pro-environment members barely changed. Of 38 Assembly members identified as "allies" by the California League of Conservation Voters, 28 ran for re-election and all of them won. Of nine candidates endorsed by the league for open seats, five won. In the Senate, environmentalists picked up one seat. They also got a boost with the election of environmentalist Al Gore as vice president, and the two new Democratic U.S. senators have pledged to work for the environment.

Still, with the state mired in a recession while the rest of the country begins to recover, the pressure will be on California leaders to do something to keep California competitive.

Both industry groups and environmentalists believe that the state of the economy and the budget deficit will dominate the next session, but business groups may have difficulty capitalizing on that this year, at least in part because they had some successes last session. "It is quite possible that the pro-business type of environmental stuff will not be as successful this year, I think, because they got a lot [last] year," one legislative aide said. "The most vulnerable of the laws were changed [last] year." And that, he said, means environmentalists will have fewer industry challenges to fight.

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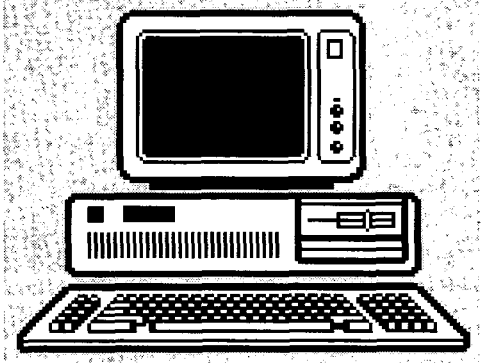

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The last populist

After 40 years on the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors, Kenneth Hahn fades into retirement

By Mark Katches

Back in 1987, Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn offered $1 to anyone who could find a chunk missing from a road in his district. Grudgingly, he paid out $3.

"Take care of the little things first," he used to say. And when it came to filling potholes, it wasn't just rhetoric spewing from the supervisor — who retired in December after an unprecedented 40 years on the Board of Supervisors — it was an obsession.

That kind of attention to detail endeared the 72-year-old Hahn to voters and kept a county public works department on its toes. Hahn truly believed he was placed on this planet to serve the people. And, by God, his constituents deserved a smooth ride on their streets. Under orders from Hahn, one of his deputies inspected every inch of pavement each week. It was the least movie stars could expect in the swankest enclaves of La-La Land. But this was light years from Bel Air or Mailbu. Hahn's roads and alleys were in dangerous, riot-torn South-Central Los Angeles — an economically depressed, gang-infested nether world. Hahn, who is white, has lived his life here. It's a place where — for once — the county's poorest residents believed their representative gave a damn, even if he could do little to solve the greater ills plaguing them.

"Most politicians thought potholes were beneath them," Hahn says. "They would lose their dignity to actually bend down to look for one. I just turned that philosophy around." Having cast an estimated 250,000 votes that helped Los Angeles evolve from a one-freeway town, it's no wonder that Hahn's departure from the board marked more than the end of an era in Southern California politics. His retirement after a tenure unmatched in California history may have sounded the death knell for the populist politician — one who could connect with the downtrodden and avoid being held hostage by influential special interests.

Unless serious campaign reforms are enacted quickly, his breed of policy-maker will wither and die, political experts say. He may very well be one of the 20th century's last Mohicans. After all, neither of the two African-American women who fought hammer and tong to replace Hahn on the board may rightly be called "populist." Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, who narrowly won the job, hails from one of the wealthier sections of the district. And state Senator Diane Watson, who lost, once referred to politicans like herself as "not like other people."

"Kenny Hahn was a people's politican," says fellow Supervisor Gloria Molina. "He listened to people, he cared about them and he reminded them that he could get things done."

You just don't see that anymore, says Larry Berg, director of the Jesse M. Unruh Institute of Political Science at the University of Southern California. Today's political climate

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Mark Katches is a reporter for the Los Angeles Daily News.

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makes it nearly impossible for politicians to elude symbiosis with special interests that channel huge sums of money into campaign coffers. Big business expects a *quid pro quo*, and it usually gets it, says Berg.

But Hahn was an anomaly. "He came from a different era," Berg says. "He never had to rely on big business." Hahn says his philosophy was simpler than that.

"I had faith in the people; most politicans don't," Hahn says. "They're all suffering from `Big Billboard Complex.' They think billboards get you elected, not the people. Politics is a noble profession. Outside of preaching the gospel, it is the highest calling. You are there to serve the people. But politicians nowadays have the wrong concept of the office. They think it's a door to power and fame."

An energetic liberal maverick who only twice ascended to chairman of the board, Hahn was the youngest supervisor ever elected in Los Angeles County. He took office in 1952 at the age of 32 (see "The Hahn Dynasty," *CJ*, March 1988) and immediately began building support through stops at barber shops, cafes and street corners to meet the common folk. And in his district, that usually meant mingling with poor minorities who had lost faith in the system. He probably shook a million hands in 40 years. But he never seemed superficial or insular. He grabbed hold of your hand, in fact, until he shared an anecdote, told a story, asked a question or learned a name. He was even more adept at applying scriptures to suit his political pursuits and using the media during ground breakings and other photo opportunities to capture headlines.

"They used to say Kenny had the sharpest elbows in the west by the way he shoved people out of pictures or elbowed his way in," says political consultant and lobbyist Joe Cerrell. His support snowballed into phenomenal success on election day. Ten times, Hahn was elected supervisor by his mostly African-American and Latino constituents. In eight of those campaigns, he captured more than 80 percent of the

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vote. "Landslide" is hardly the right word.

"He really, truly touched the people," says Mas Fukai, Hahn's longtime chief deputy. "There is no phoniness about the man. I've been with him when people literally ran across the street, almost getting killed, just to touch him. The people didn't look at him as a white politician. I don't think Black or white or anyone could have beaten Kenny Hahn if he chose to continue. The president of the United States couldn't beat him in this district."

But in the age of anti-incumbency, there are those who think Hahn represented everthing that is wrong with the system. Former Supervisor Pete Schabarum, a Hahn adversary when the two served on the board together, won't criticize Hahn publicly. Out of respect, few of his critics will. But mention Hahn's name and Schabarum, a hardline conservative, finds a way to make his point.

"I'm not going to get into personalities, but we need term limits, not career politicians," says Schabarum, who helped lead the fight to pass Proposition 140 — the 1990 initiative that applied term limits to the state Legislature and to state constitutional officers.

Tongue in cheek, Hahn answers: "I'm in favor of term limits — 10 terms and you're out."

Despite being outnumbered by conservatives four-to-one throughout much of his tenure, Hahn was able to pry what he wanted out of his counterparts. Supervisor Ed Edelman, a moderate Democrat who found an ally in Hahn when he joined the board in 1974, calls Hahn a "master politician" because he won over the conservatives when he needed them. His calculated approach bordered on political genius. Hahn used as leverage the fact that he represented the poorest residents of Los Angeles County, most of whom were Democrats. According to Hahn, he offered to take more poor residents into his district in exchange for the votes he needed. That not only strengthened his support, it was music to the ears of the board's Republicans.

"When I wanted something, I'd go to them and say, 'How would you like to represent Watts?' and their jaws would drop," he says. "Then, I'd say, 'At the next redistricting, I'm going to see that you get some poor people in your district because I have all of them.' They didn't want any part of that. Every time we did redistricting, I took more poor people into my district. I told them, 'If you don't like poor people, I'll take care of them; give me all you've got.'"

Besides his populist appeal, Hahn probably is most noted for some bold innovations like developing the concept of the freeway callbox and hounding then-Governor Pat Brown in Sacramento for the money to install them. He championed the notion of the paramedic program during the late 1960s and authored the county measure in 1980 that helped get Los Angeles on track to bring back rail transit, long after the final run of the storied Red Car.

And Hahn was the key player in luring the Dodgers from Brooklyn after the 1957 baseball season. Shortly after then-Dodger owner Walter O'Malley pledged privately to Hahn that he was moving his team West, the two boarded a helicopter for a trip over Los Angeles. While looking for possible stadium sites, O'Malley asked Hahn about Chavez Ravine, site of an abandoned city housing project.

"I was too bold," Hahn remembered. "I said, `You want it, you can have it.'"

In each of these examples, Hahn's views met stiff resistance, but he prevailed. William Robertson, president of the American Federation of Labor in Los Angeles, says that's the way Hahn did business. He didn't look at polls before taking a stand on an issue. He did what he believed was right. And if he couldn't sway public opinion, he succumbed to it.

Some of Hahn's ideas bordered on lunacy. He once proposed statehood for Los Angeles County and still believes a pipeline from Alaska is the answer to California's water needs. But if any questions linger about Hahn's service, they surround his health and whether he should have sought a 10th term in 1988 — especially after his district decayed economically around him. For six years, Hahn has had to use a wheelchair. A massive stroke in January 1987 paralyzed half his body. After weeks in the hospital, he emerged a shell of himself. His mind was there, but nothing worked as sharply. His speech was slurred. His stamina was gone. Sixty-hour weeks were cut by more than half. He no longer came around the cafes and barber shops, and he rarely endured the long agendas at board meetings, sometimes leaving in the middle of a discussion. Before the stroke, Hahn effortlessly scanned long news articles or board items in less than a minute and challenged his staffers to stump him. Afterward, his inability to read as quickly was one of his greatest frustrations, his chief deputy, Fukai, says.

"I thought all was lost after my stroke," Hahn says, but he was reminded that if Franklin Roosevelt could run the country from a wheelchair, he could at least run the largest county in America. Fukai believes Hahn proved the skeptics wrong by staying in office. He built a shopping center, a library and a new gymnasium for South-Central residents. He expanded the emergency room at his beloved Martin Luther King General Hospital. If he hadn't run out of time, building a swimming pool in Compton would have topped his agenda, on a list just below "no potholes." USC's Berg says it's debatable whether Hahn overstayed his welcome, but he certainly isn't to blame for the plight of his district.

"And they never held him responsible for their problems, either," Berg says. "Right or wrong, they believed the image that Kenny Hahn looked out for the little people. The seeds of their problems were already there. Think of all the problems you could have in society. Many of the people who had those problems happened to live in his district. That doesn't mean he shouldn't have done more or that he couldn't have done more. But it's more the fault of people at the state and federal levels. He did what he could."

Hahn's plans for retirement are unclear. He has been offered a teaching post at his alma mater, Pepperdine University, and he may write his memoirs. Unlike some longtime politicians who amass a fortune in government, Hahn never did. His annual economic-interest statements consistently showed no real estate holdings or investments. He's lived in the same house throughout his career. He will be quite comfortable in retirement, however, thanks to controversial pension benefits the board approved last year. The changes allow top county officials to count their perks and benefits as part of their income for the sake of pension calculations. That means a 100-percent vested Hahn, whose last annual salary was just over $99,000, will take home in excess of $125,000 in pension benefits every year.

In retirement, he will be in greatest demand as a political adviser, consultant and fund raiser. Hahn helped handpick his 2nd District successor, Burke, the first elected African-

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American member of the board and previously the first African-American to serve in the Assembly and to represent California in Congress. Hahn not only endorsed her, a persuasive factor given his popularity, he was the single largest contributor to her campaign war chest. Hahn pumped $63,000 in cash and $45,000 in loans from his campaign treasury into Burke's effort so she could fend off the tough challenge from Watson, whose Senate district overlaps much of the South-Central terrain. Burke, who is a bit apprehensive about following in the footsteps of a political icon, says she plans to consult frequently with Hahn.

And then there are his children, who learned early that public service came before them. Janice Hahn remembered a rare family vacation to Hawaii, cut short after one day because her father was called back to Los Angeles when his pet project — the Martin Luther King Hospital — was in jeopardy. Her bathing suit soaking wet from the Waikiki surf, Janice was told to pack up with her brother for the next flight back to the Mainland.

"I guess I just realized that my father had a great calling in life to help people," says Janice, who is contemplating a run for City Hall. If she runs, she says, her father will manage her campaign.

Hahn also has held onto the balance of his campaign funds to get his daughter started in politics and to keep his son, James, in office. James Hahn is Los Angeles city attorney, no small thanks to name recognition and to Dad's contacts and fund-raising skills. James has been rumored as a potential candidate for mayor but most likely will position himself for a shot at state attorney general, says Cerrell.

Meanwhile, Kenneth P. Hahn is enjoying the fruits of his good fortune, two years into his term as county assessor. Although no relation to Kenny Hahn at all, the assessor won his job in large part because county residents thought the elder statesman had turned his attention to tax collection.

When it comes to passing the populist legacy in Los Angeles, however, Cerrell and Berg see few ready to carry the torch. Cerrell thinks City Councilman Nate Holden, a mayoral candidate, fits the mold. Holden is a Hahn protege. He served as a deputy for 12 years before running for office.

"He taught me how to run a campaign, and he taught me how to serve," Holden says of Hahn. But charges of sexual harrassment have bruised Holden's campaign.

Berg says Molina, too, may fit the populist mold, but it is too early to draw that conclusion because she has spent less than two years on the board. Nationally, President Bill Clinton seems to offer hope to populists, who have been hiding in think tanks, opinion journals and universities where special interests have no use for them, according to Berg. The mood may change under a new federal administration. Besides the campaign bus trips and the penchant for call-in shows, Clinton's frequent pilgrimages to McDonald's parallel Hahn's trips to the corner cafe.

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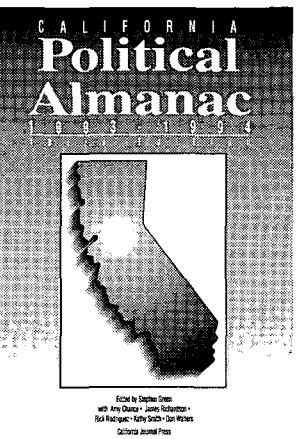

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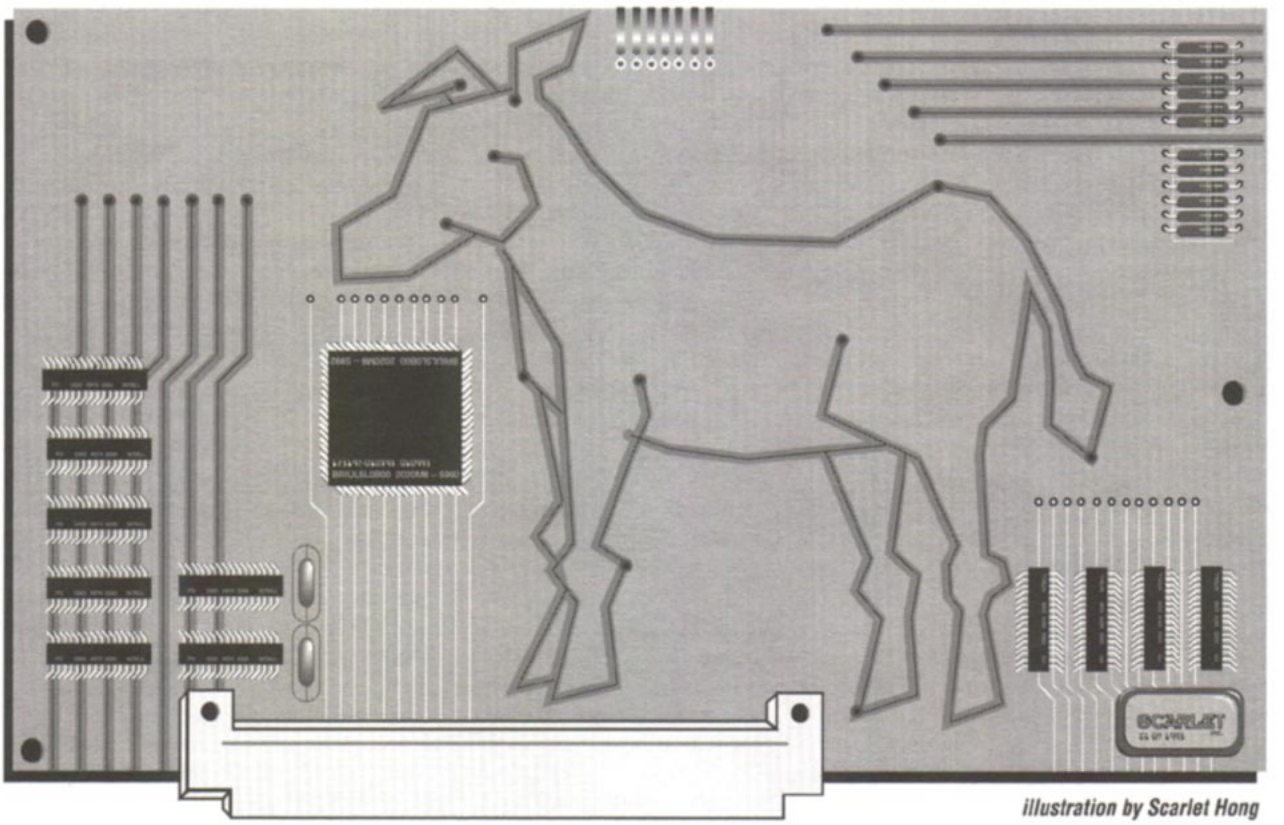

illustration by Scarlet Hong

The fountain of moderate Republicanism

Silicon Valley SLIPS away from the GOP

By Carolyn Zinko

If Silicon Valley is the fountain of moderate Republicanism, the fountain seems to be running dry these days.

Want evidence? Harken back to the election of 1992, when state Senator Becky Morgan of Los Altos Hills and Assemblyman Chuck Quackenbush of Saratoga were the only two Republicans to win office in what had been fertile Republican soil — the affluent peninsula south of San Francisco. Quackenbush barely survived, capturing but 49 percent of the vote in a district that should have been a snap for a Republican. And where once the leaders of Silicon Valley's high-tech firms were firmly in the GOP camp, they made a great show this year of backing Democratic presidential contender Bill Clinton.

Not only that, for the first time in 40 years, Republicans lost the 14th Congressional District when their candidate, San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huening, was defeated by fellow Supervisor Anna Eshoo. Thus, the crown jewel of peninsula politics, the seat that had launched three U.S. Senate candidacies — Pete McCloskey in 1982, Ed Zschau in 1986 and Tom Campbell in 1992 — passed to the Democrats. Eshoo became the first Democrat to hold the seat since 1952, when Charlie Gubser of Gilroy took office.

Even at the grass-roots level, moderates are losing control, with half of Santa Clara County's Republican Central Committee composed of "conservatives of the religious right," said Valerie Smullen, county party chairwoman. In San Mateo County, moderates still hold the majority, said Jim

Carolyn Zinko writes for the Peninsula Times-Tribune *in Palo Alto.*

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Rinehart, county party chairman.

The area's recent trend toward Democrats is caused, some say, by an increasingly right-wing national Republican Party whose politics of exclusion is distasteful to peninsula Republicans, who tend to be more liberal on social and environmental issues. This is, after all, the area that produced moderate GOP leaders such as former assemblymen Dixon Arnett and Bob Naylor, as well as McCloskey, Zschau and Campbell. But it also is the area that elected, then dumped, lawmakers like former Assemblyman Bill Duplissea and former Congressman Ernie Konnyu, both of whom showed themselves to be more conservative than was acceptable to area voters.

Moderates like Morgan, Campbell and Zschau predict that the GOP will slip even further to the right before 1996, a trend they blame on the direction established at the Republican National Convention. But they hold to the view that the right wing does not represent a majority of voters in California, and Morgan says, "I don't believe they represent a majority of people who in the past have considered themselves Republicans, many of whom re-registered Democrat after Houston."

And then there was the high-tech defection to Clinton that involved some 20 Silicon Valley leaders who agreed during the presidential campaign season to work with Clinton on a national policy for research and development. Among the executives were influential Republicans such as John Sculley of Apple Computer and John Young of Hewlett-Packard. High-tech executives appeared with Clinton when he made a campaign appearence at San Jose State University in September and lauded him for understanding better than President George Bush the connections among education, investment and high-tech innovation.

As the executives led the way toward support of Clinton on business matters, local activists began to move away from the party because of the opinions expressed during the Republican National Convention on social issues. For example, Sisi Weaver, a member of the Los Altos Republican Women since moving to California in 1976, said she was so disenchanted with elements in the Republican Party that she voted for Democrat Barbara Boxer in the race for the six-year U.S.Senate seat. The defection didn't come easily for Weaver, who considers herself socially moderate and fiscally conservative. But she said Republican candidate Herschensohn was too conservative, and after Herschensohn defeated Tom Campbell in the GOP Senate primary, Weaver vowed to persuade moderate Republicans to vote instead for Boxer. Weaver says she was further put off by her party's national convention, held about a month after the primary.

"It was the worst situation I've ever listened to, between the start with Pat Buchanan and on to Pat Robertson" making speeches that expressed anti-gay, anti-abortion attitudes, Weaver said. "I suddenly realized by the time the fourth day came along, that if this is going to be the Republican Party, it is not my party any longer. "

But Silicon Valley Republican leaders say reports of their party's demise are greatly exaggerated. They say they're trying to increase the strength of power and money coalitions to ensure that moderates remain an influential force from grass-roots levels to the highest echelons of elected office. They say that in holding to the Republican "big tent" theory, which accepts diversity of opinion and political philosophy, moderates have been "too compromising" and have been "trampled."

"The moderates tend to want to solve problems, and they like the fireworks less than the fire. We're there to provide jobs and in trying to be conciliatory, we've just gotten trampled," Morgan said.

Zschau, on the other hand, warned that the Republican Party may soon become "irrelevant."

"You have to separate in your mind the difference between party politics and real people politics," said Zschau, who won a hard-fought U.S. Senate primary against conservative Bruce Herschensohn in 1986, only to lose that fall by a razor-thin margin to incumbent Democrat Alan Cranston. "I would suggest that in party politics, the party is, because of concerted efforts, being taken over or greatly controlled by the most conservative elements. I'd go even farther — the Christian right is trying to take over the party.

"My view is, as that effort continues and becomes more successful, the party itself will become more irrelevant when it comes to real people politics — getting people elected and governing — as opposed to party battles," Zschau said.

Jan La Fetra, former Menlo Park mayor and Republican activist who lost to Democratic Assemblyman Byron Sher of Palo Alto last November in the 21st Assembly District, said peninsula voters as a rule are not bound to party dogma. She sees the reason for some defection into the Democratic Party as "the fact that the religious right does not represent what I consider the important parts of the Republican Party."

"It has been the tradition here, even before Silicon Valley was Silicon Valley, going back to Pete McCloskey's day, that we have been fiscal conservatives, business types, with a social conscience," La Fetra said. "The mind set of the business types in this area has not changed, but they see on the domestic front that Clinton is closer to their values than the religious right. And I personally think they will swing back to the Republicans just as soon as they left if the Republicans give them a choice."

Morgan and Campbell are working to that end by trying to reverse the gains by conservatives. They want moderates appointed as alternates to central committees and delegates to conventions. They're also drawing in members of the Lincoln Club of Northern California, a leading center of moderate activism, to generate funds for moderate candidates locally and in other areas around the state where moderates have appeal, such as San Diego and southern Los Angeles County.

"I think because we have two former congressmen who ran for the [U.S.] Senate and the strong Lincoln Club, this area will be one of the focal points in at least finding the people," Morgan said.

The vision for the future is that "candidates, good, moderate Republican candidates will run on their own and get elected, and, by being elected and showing the others they can get elected and make a difference in government, could cause the party to wake up and swing back," Zschau said.

GOP political consultant Ron Smith, campaign consultant to Zschau and Campbell, calls Silicon Valley and the peninsula "the fountain of moderate Republican leadership" because it is a place where political leadership — like the area's industry — is based on ideas and has a built-in support network.

"On the peninsula, you have a group of people like

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[developer] Tom Ford, [Hewlett-Packard co-founder] David Packard, who say, `You have the right ideas. I'll back you and see that I do everthing I can to make sure you make it,'" Smith said. "More than a constituency, it's the volunteer leadership, and [other candidates] in the state don't have that kind of strength. ...Then somebody else comes to Silicon Valley and can't raise two cents and doesn't understand why. These other candidates who come in don't raise challenging ideas."

The peninsula is the most noticeable pocket of moderation in the state, according to Campbell, because the economy was developed by people with little inherited wealth who had a commitment to entrepreneurship. "Those aspects do not favor government intrusion — part of the notion that `I can make it if government gets out of my way,'" said Campbell, who rose to political prominence from a law professorship at Stanford. Campbell also noted that the physical beauty of the land draws attention to environmental protection. "It's a peculiar phenomenon: a strong sense of individuality, mistrust of government and the concern of preserving the environment," he said.

Smith, Zschau and Campbell contend that the moderates' grip on the peninsula is not slipping, nor are moderates a powerless minority within the minority party. They attribute the loss of the mid-peninsula congressional district seat to a reapportionment that favored Democrats and a national political trend for change.

Smith is optimistic that the peninsula will continue to be "the hatching ground" for Republican leaders. Morgan, Zschau and Campbell are waiting in the wings for the opportunity to run for statewide office and assert their authority in party leadership. Morgan, for one, has been mentioned as a potential candidate for lieutenant governor or superintendent of public instruction in 1994, and she confirmed that she is considering running it.

Quackenbush said he would run again for the Assembly in 1994 and if he "still felt useful" he would consider running for Morgan's state Senate seat if she were to win a statewide race.

Although Zschau and Campbell have retreated into private life — Zschau heading up his own Silicon Valley company; Campbell returning to Stanford when his term in Congrss expired on January 3rd — both said they are looking forward to a return to public service, but had not determined when.

Smith, who directed congressional and U.S. Senate campaigns for Zschau and Campbell, said Campbell likely would run again in two years and Zschau in two to six years. In 1994 Democratic U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein will be up for re-election. In 1998 Boxer must stand for re-election. The regrouping effort led by Morgan and Campbell is one way to achieve that, said GOP political consultant Shellie Garrett, who has worked extensively in voter data analysis on the Peninsula.

"They'll continue to be players as money givers — what you have to do is raise money, more than anything," Garrett said.

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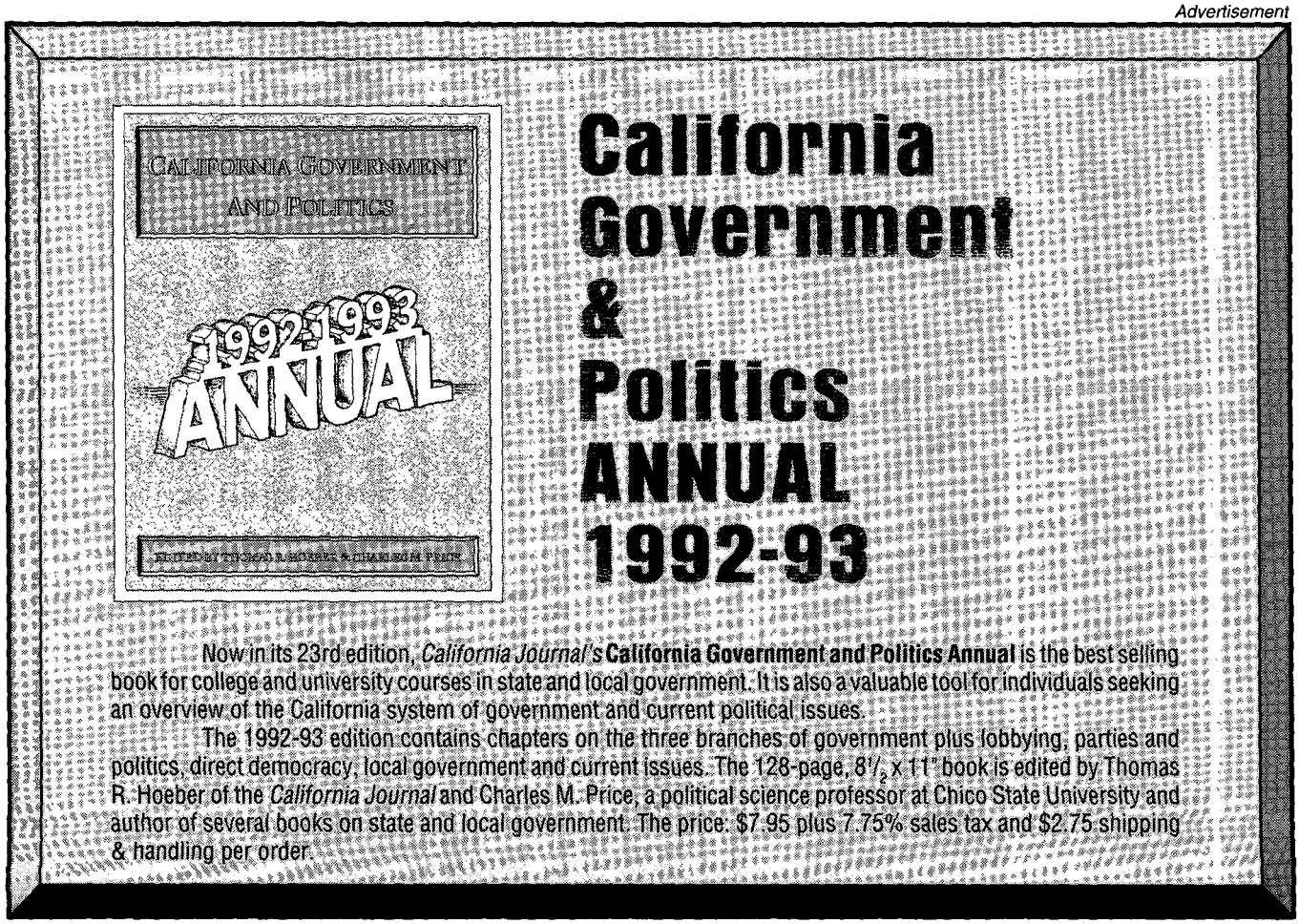

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Power up, power down

Unless President Bill Clinton keeps his budget director on a far shorter leash than did his Republican predecessors, Leon Panetta of Carmel Valley is likely to become the most powerful Californian in Washington.

UNDER DAVID STOCKMAN AND DICK DARMAN, the director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) became a titan controlling the spigot of federal dollars, a powerful policy-setter and not just a budgetary bean-counter.

Information is power, and recent budget directors have made the most of OMB's monopoly over budgetary data from every nook and cranny of the federal bureaucracy. As chairman of the House Budget Committee, Panetta developed a mastery of the budgetary process that has prepared him to become a similarly adept budgetary czar. But Stockman and Darman were also fierce, even vicious, political infighters who seemed to relish their opportunities to squeeze costly social programs and to offend members of Congress and Cabinet members who dared to stand in their way. By contrast, Panetta usually seemed among the most affable of House members.

Thus, the likable Democrat may stand a far better chance than his Republican predecessors to bring people together on the compromises needed for deficit reduction, a goal to which Panetta is fervently dedicated. But it remains to be seen how ready and willing he will be to make enemies by spurning the pet projects and favored programs of his old colleages on Capitol Hill. Panetta is probably also destined to be less influential in setting economic policy than Lloyd Bentsen, the Texas senator Clinton chose as Treasury secretary.

Clinton evidently was so impressed with Panetta during transition job interviews that he decided to hire a congressman who had openly criticized as inadequate Clinton's campaign proposals for deficit reduction. In announcing Panetta's appointment, Clinton quipped that he was "going to give him a chance to teach me some math."

At Clinton's economic conference in Little Rock in December, Panetta made a public plea that the new administration tackle the distasteful task of enacting long-term deficit reductions in a package with Clinton's promised, more politically appealing (and arguably contradictory) short-term program of federal spending to produce jobs.[ep

"You've got to make it part of the same package because if you do a stimulus package, let me assure you, Congress loves to pass the sugar but hates to deal with the vinegar, which is the deficit part of it," Panetta said. "So it does have to be locked into a single package if you're going to be able to get it through."

While Panetta's success in his new job may be measured by his ability to stop pork-barrel spending, colleagues may judge Norm Mineta by his ability to keep the pork coming. In 1990 Mineta initiated the coup that toppled a fellow Californian, the increasingly out-of-touch Glenn Anderson of Long Beach, as chairman of the road-building House Public Works Committee. But the Democratic caucus then chose Robert Roe of New Jersey over Mineta as the panel's new chairman, partly because of doubts that Mineta sufficiently appreciated the committee's political value as a dispenser of voter-pleasing highways, mass transit subsidies and other goodies. It is a concern that would seem misplaced in light of Mineta's record of obtaining — and taking ample credit for — new highways for his San Jose-based district in particular and for California in general.

This year, with Roe's retirement, Mineta takes charge of the committee. He has promised to keep parochial pork-barrel interests from dictating the contents of a public works infrastructure package of the sort that Clinton promised during the campaign. If Mineta means it, he'll find some distinctly disappointed members of his committee.

Another California member of Congress doesn't have to worry any more about those burdens of leadership. When House Republicans met in December to organize for the new Congress, Dick Armey of Texas ousted Jerry Lewis of Redlands as Republican Conference Chairman on an 88-84 vote. The move to replace the moderate Lewis with the far more combative Armey reflected the continuing rightward swing of the House leadership.

The current GOP leaders are all in the mold of hard-hitting Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia — with the crucial exception of House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel of Illinois. But even Michel found himself doing a weak imitation of a bulldog, promising that his troops would be "a very militant, forceful force" in protesting the iron rule of the Democratic majority.[ep

As Lewis emphasized in a statement after his defeat, he would have won if many of his fellow California Republicans hadn't voted against him — while Armey's Texas colleagues remained united behind their state's contender in the leadership race.

But Lewis had ample warning that he was anything but a favorite son to some California conservatives. In 1990 California Republicans, led by Duncan Hunter of Coronado, ousted Lewis as the state's representative on the Committee on Committees — the Republican panel that decides committee assignments in the House.

MEANWHILE, OVER IN THE SENATE, California's Barbara Boxer was given seats on the Banking and Environment Committees. Dianne Feinstein agreed to take a seat on the previously all-male Judiciary Committee, which is still recovering from the debacle of its Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings. In return, the leadership gave her the coveted spot she sought on the cash-dispensing Appropriations Committee.

But Appropriation's haughty and powerful chairman, Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, exacted a minor humiliation because of Feinstein's support for the line-item veto, which he detests: Byrd insisted that Feinstein have less seniority on his committee than freshman Patty Murray, a Washington Democrat, even though Feinstein took her seat in the Senate weeks earlier.

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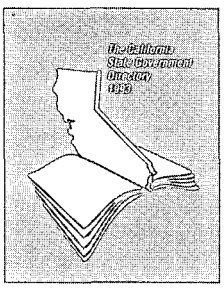

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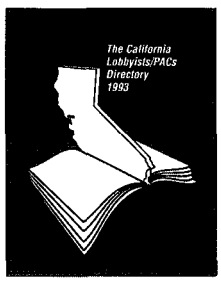

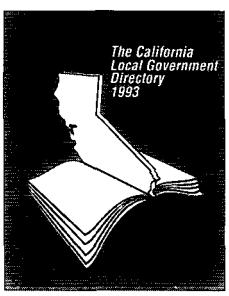

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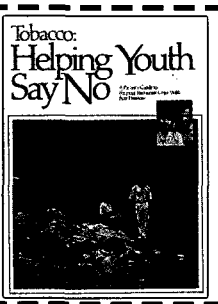

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